

Regional Inequality of Education in Ghana: The Dilemma of a Policy Response to Social Exclusion

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von Herr Emile Akangoa Adumpo

Prof. Dr.-Ing. Dr. Sabine Kunst
Präsidentin der
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Prof. Dr. Christian Kassung
Dekan der Kultur-, Sozial- und
Bildungswissenschaftlichen Fakultät

Gutachterin/Gutachter:

1. Prof. Dr. Talja Blokland, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin
2. Prof. Dr. Marcelo Caruso, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

Abstract

Education is a tool that can be used to fight poverty, inequality, and social exclusion in every given society. Thus, for a sustainable and holistic national development, there is the need for an equitable distribution of educational resources among the people irrespective of gender, ethnicity and spatial location. This is however hardly achievable, especially in Africa where colonialism has partly brought about unequal development among the people in many countries. Soon after the *Northern Territories* of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) was incorporated under colonial rule, the educational policy of the colonialists did not favour the northern part of the country.

Even though, there have been some studies on the colonialism of Africa in general, little has been done regarding the role it played in (re)producing unequal development of education in Africa. Likewise, the impact of an affirmative action instituted to bridge the gap between the north-south divide in Ghana has not been evaluated notwithstanding its over sixty years of existence. The main questions this study thus seeks to answer are: What were the colonial encounters with the north that brought about the underdevelopment of education in the area? How is the affirmative action bridging the gap between the north and the south?

To answer the research questions, the study used a mixed-methods approach where in-depth interviews, Q methods, document analysis and observation were adapted as data collection methods. It was revealed that the colonialists adopted a deliberate strategy of making the north an unskilled labour reserve, thus accounting for why they did not build many schools there in the beginning. The findings of the study also show that the effect of the affirmative action has not been able to appreciably contribute to closing the north-south gap as expected. Situating the study in Charles Tilly's theory of *durable inequality*, it is concluded that exploitation largely accounted for the underdevelopment of education in northern Ghana. Moreover, the challenges of the affirmative action coupled with the poverty levels of the north make the inequality between the two sides persistent. This thesis has also revealed that rather than engaging in opportunity hoarding as postulated by Tilly, what the non-elite do in this study with regards to educational inequality in Ghana is *opportunity gleaning*. The thesis also posits that, inclusion and exclusion are intertwined concepts as the excluded group is saddled with some other forms of exclusion in the process of including them through a policy intervention. Following this, it is posited that, positive discrimination policies though meant to eliminate barriers could bring about new exclusionary tendencies as well.

Zusammenfassung

Bildung ist ein Instrument, das zur Bekämpfung von Armut, Ungleichheit und sozialer Ausgrenzung in jeder Gesellschaft eingesetzt werden kann. Für eine nachhaltige und ganzheitliche nationale Entwicklung ist daher eine gerechte Verteilung der Bildungsressourcen unter den Menschen erforderlich, unabhängig von Geschlecht, ethnischer Zugehörigkeit und räumlicher Lage. Dies ist jedoch nicht immer ohne Weiteres zu erreichen, insbesondere in Afrika, wo der Kolonialismus in vielen Ländern teilweise zu einer ungleichen Entwicklung unter den Menschen geführt hat. Schon bald nach der Eingliederung der *Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* (heute Ghana) in die Kolonialherrschaft vernachlässigte die Bildungspolitik der Kolonialisten den nördlichen Teil des Landes.

Obwohl es einige Studien zum Kolonialismus in Afrika im Allgemeinen gibt, wurde nur wenig darüber berichtet, welche Rolle er bei der Schaffung eines ungleichen Bildungswesens spielte. Auch die Auswirkungen von aktiven Förderungsmaßnahmen, die zur Überbrückung der Kluft zwischen dem Nord-Süd-Gefälle in Ghana eingeführt wurden, sind trotz ihres mehr als sechzigjährigen Bestehens nicht untersucht worden. Die wichtigsten Fragen, die diese Studie daher zu beantworten versucht, sind die Folgenden: Was waren die kolonialen Begegnungen mit dem Norden Ghanas, die die Unterentwicklung des Bildungswesens in der Region bewirkten? Wie überbrücken die aktiven Förderungsmaßnahmen bzw. die positive Diskriminierung die Kluft zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden des Landes?

Zur Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen wurde in der Studie ein methodengemischter Ansatz verwendet, bei dem Tiefeninterviews, Q-Methoden, Dokumentenanalyse und Beobachtung als Datenerhebungsmethoden Einsatz fanden. Es stellte sich heraus, dass die Kolonialisten eine bewusste Strategie verfolgten, den Norden zu einer Reserve ungelernter Arbeitskräfte zu machen, was erklärt, warum sie dort anfangs nur wenige Schulen bauten. Die Ergebnisse der Studie zeigen darüber hinaus, dass die positive Diskriminierung die Nord-Süd-Lücke nicht wie erwartet schließt. Verbindet man die vorliegende Forschung mit der Theorie der dauerhaften Ungleichheit von Charles Tilly, so kommt man zu dem Schluss, dass die Ausbeutung weitestgehend für die Unterentwicklung des Bildungswesens in Nordghana verantwortlich ist. Des Weiteren sorgen die Herausforderungen der positiven Diskriminierung in Verbindung mit dem Armutsniveau des Nordens dafür, dass die Ungleichheit zwischen den beiden Regionen anhält. Diese Studie hat auch gezeigt, dass die Nicht-Eliten nicht, wie von Tilly angenommen, Chancen horten, sondern dass sie im Hinblick auf die Bildungsungleichheit Chancen sammeln. Die Arbeit weist letztlich darauf hin, dass Inklusion und Exklusion miteinander verflochtene Konzepte sind, da die ausgegrenzte Gruppe im Zuge ihrer Wiedereingliederung durch politische Maßnahmen andere Formen der Exklusion erfährt. Darauf aufbauend wird daher vermutet, dass eine Politik der positiven Diskriminierung, obwohl sie darauf abzielt, Barrieren zu beseitigen, auch neue Ausgrenzungstendenzen hervorrufen kann.

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Abbreviations

BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examination
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
EFA	Education for All
FSHS	Free Senior High School
GES	Ghana Education Service
GETFUND	Ghana Education Trust Fund
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
GOG	Government of Ghana
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
ICT	Information Communication Technology
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
NNED	Northern Network for Education Development
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NSS	Northern Scholarship Scheme
NT	Northern Territories
PAC	Public Accounts Committee
SADA	Savannah Accelerated Development Authority
SHS	Senior High School
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WAEC	West African Examination Council
WASSCE	West Africa Secondary School Certificate Examination

Chapter One

Introduction and Background to the Study

1.1 Context

The history of education in most African countries cannot be divorced from the past activities of the European colonialists acting on behalf of their various metropolises. By this token, Shizha & Kariwo (2011) asserted that all societies have at least history that directs their present and future development of their citizenry. However, there have been a history of disproportionate development in the colonial era within countries across the African continent. Around the 19th century, there was a mad rush largely by the Europeans to annex some portions of Africa, where they could plunder on the natural resources of these societies (Boahen 1989).

This division sectarianised the African countries that were colonised. Lewis (1963) decries the factional partition of Somalia where the Somali Peninsula was divided into French Somaliland, British Somaliland, the Ethiopian Haud and Ogaden, Italian Somalia and Northern Province of Kenya. Thus, the scramble for the African continent instituted some boundaries that have since divided the people of Africa by social as well as physical border demarcations. It is argued that this has widely separated Africa as well as created inequalities among some ethnic groups within Post-colonial African states (Osaghae 2006). What this means is that some tribes were highly favoured by the colonialists because those tribes lived in places that were well-endowed with natural resources and through that they got some economic returns as Chabal puts it: "In each colony, it is not difficult to point to some groups which were privileged and others which were discriminated against"(Chabal 1994: 131). A clear manifestation was when the Germans at the time were more inclined to the Ewe tribe in Togo, the English preferred the Baganda in Uganda, while Belgian colonialists were much closer to the Tutsi in Rwanda and Burundi, and the Lulua in Congo (Alwiya & Schech 2004: 269). As a result of the colonialization of Africa, there has been a persistent inequality of development among tribes, nations and people

as well as disparities within countries. One of the forms of inequalities that was created among the African people is educational inequality which Ghana is no exception.

The socio-economic and regional inequalities of education in Ghana dates back to the colonial administration. This is supported by Aryeetey et al. (2009) and Annim et al. (2012) in their assertions that inequalities in spatial development in Ghana have been started by the colonial administration and ingrained by post-colonial development policies and strategies. The colonial masters, as a matter of policy decided that people of northern extraction in the Gold Coast (GC) were not provided with equitable formal education because they were being reserved as unskilled labour to extract the rich resources of the south for the benefit of the colonising masters and their various countries (Songsore 2003). Consequently, this category of people in the then Gold Coast (now Ghana) were solely for manual labour and other menial jobs in the southern part of the country. Through to their policy goal, the colonialists followed up with their designed scheme by establishing few schools in northern Ghana, thus preventing many people of the north from having sufficient formal education. However, schools were established in the southern sector of Ghana and citizens in that region had the opportunity of receiving more formal education, so they could offer their services in the various offices that were being established in the colony, including the few in northern Ghana (Bening 2015). One time in parliament of Ghana, a minister for education, honourable William Ofori Atta¹ strongly made this statement on the floor of parliament to attest to the segregation and injustice meted out to the Northerners:

We must not run away from the fact that there had been regional inequality in the colonial days. It was part of the colonial policy not to raise the standard of the Northerners too quickly in those days. In fact, in the colonial days, it was wrong for a Northerner to come to the south and return to the north wearing European

¹William Ofori Atta was the education minister in the second republic of Ghana and hails from Akyem Abuakwa in southern Ghana. This tells that his concerns were somewhat sincere.

clothes. It was also wrong for them to mix up with the Southerners. (Bening 2015: 459)

Gearing up to the independence of Ghana from her colonial masters in 1957, there was growing uneasiness among the Northern elite that, with the wide gap between the average educational attainment in the North and the South, Northerners would be politically and economically worse off than they had been during the colonial era and that the match for independence should be postponed. The British administration could seemingly not run away from the fact that they caused the underdevelopment of the north and thereby agreed on an educational scholarship scheme seeking to bridge the yawning gap between the north and the south (Gbadamosi 2016). This move was intended to redeem the long standing injustice that the Northern part of Ghana suffered under colonial rule where the expansion of education was restricted. The leader of government business in the new independent Ghana then made an undertaking to implement a special scholarship scheme which would ensure the accelerated development of education for the North to catch-up with the South (Gbadamosi 2016).

Immediately after independence in 1957, the first post-independence government under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah instituted the Northern Scholarship Scheme (NSS) for people of northern extraction (Bening, 2015) to enjoy free education. This came as a result of persistent agitations by traditional and political leaders of northern Ghana who blamed the educational underdevelopment of the north on the deliberate neglect by the colonial administration. The aim of the NSS was to get as many northerners as possible, educated to reduce the increasing inequality of education between the north and the south of Ghana (Gbadamosi 2016). A detail discussion of the NSS is presented in Chapter 5 of the thesis which seeks to answer one of the research questions.

1.2 A Brief Overview of the Educational System in Ghana

The Ghana school system is largely designed according to the British model. This is because Ghana was colonised by the British who introduced formal European style

of education to the country. The idea behind the introduction of education to the people of the Gold Coast by the Europeans was initially to promote Christian evangelism and to educate the mullatos² that were born by the European traders and much later, it was meant for the sustenance of the then government machinery in the colonial era (Akyeampong et al. 2007).

The educational system in Ghana as outlined in Section 1 of the Education Act, 2008 (Act 778) is structured into three levels: basic education, second cycle education and tertiary education. Basic education is made up of two years Kindergarten education, six years Primary education and three years Junior High School education. At the end of the third year in Junior High School, all pupils in the country are required to sit for a common exam, the Basic Education Certificate Examination (B.E.C.E.) which will qualify them on competitive bases to enter institutions in the second cycle education.

The second cycle level consist of 3 years of Senior High School education as well as technical/vocational education. These institutions are to a large extent public schools which are under the control of the Ghana Education Service (GES) where government subsidised the school fees until the free Senior High School (FSHS) policy was introduced in 2016 where all senior high school students in public schools in Ghana at that level do not pay fees. However, before the introduction of the FSHS policy, students were made to pay fees except those from northern Ghana who enjoyed the Northern Scholarship Scheme. Many of the second cycle schools in Ghana practice the boarding system where students are given accommodation and feeding in the school. The cost of boardenisation of second cycle education was borne by parents of southern students while that of students from northern Ghana was catered for by the government. Also, at the end of three years of senior secondary education, all students write the same exams to qualify them into the tertiary schools.

²These where children of European merchants that they had with black women in the Gold Coast

Tertiary education in Ghana comprises education provided in universities, polytechnics and colleges of education that are either established by an Act of Parliament or accredited by the National Accreditation Board.

1.3 Research Focus

The colonial influence of the developmental imbalance of education in Ghana cannot be overemphasised. The relationship between intractable inequalities and exclusion are socio-historical and multifaceted in Ghana which arguably brought about the “backwardness” of the northern part of the country as compared to the south. This thesis explored the persistent regional inequality of education in Ghana that is otherwise called the north-south divide. Table 1 shows the proportions of adult Ghanaians who have ever had formal education in all regions of Ghana.

Table 1: Proportion of Adults 15 Years and Older who have ever Attended School by Region and Gender

Region	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Western	90.4	78.6	84.3
Central	89.6	70.7	79.1
Great Accra (Capital)	96.2	86.2	90.4
Volta	82.4	67.3	74.1
Eastern	90.9	78.0	83.9
Ashanti	90.0	80.2	84.7
Brong-Ahafo	79.4	67.0	72.7
Northern	<u>49.2</u>	<u>28.6</u>	<u>38.2</u>
Upper East	<u>59.4</u>	<u>42.6</u>	<u>50.4</u>
Upper West	<u>61.8</u>	<u>42.4</u>	<u>51.7</u>
Ghana	83.5	70.4	76.5

Source: GSS, (2013), (Ghana Living Standards Survey, Round 6)

It is clear from Table 1 that the three regions in northern Ghana (Northern, Upper East and Upper West) have the lowest portions of adults who have ever attended school with percentages way below the country average of 76.5%. It must be added that women are more vulnerable because lesser of them aged 15 years and more

have ever been to school. Also, the average of the rest of the country (southern part) is 81.3% as against an average of 47.0% from the Northern part of the country. This presents a glaring picture of how backward the north is as against the rest of the country.

This study thus sought to investigate the historical antecedents of educational inequality in northern Ghana and the exclusionary strategies and tendencies used by the then colonial masters in the area of education against northern Ghana. In addition to that, the thesis explored stakeholders' perspectives and views about the impact of the Northern Scholarship Scheme, a free educational policy that was deliberately put in place to bridge the colonial-instigated gap between the north and the south of Ghana.

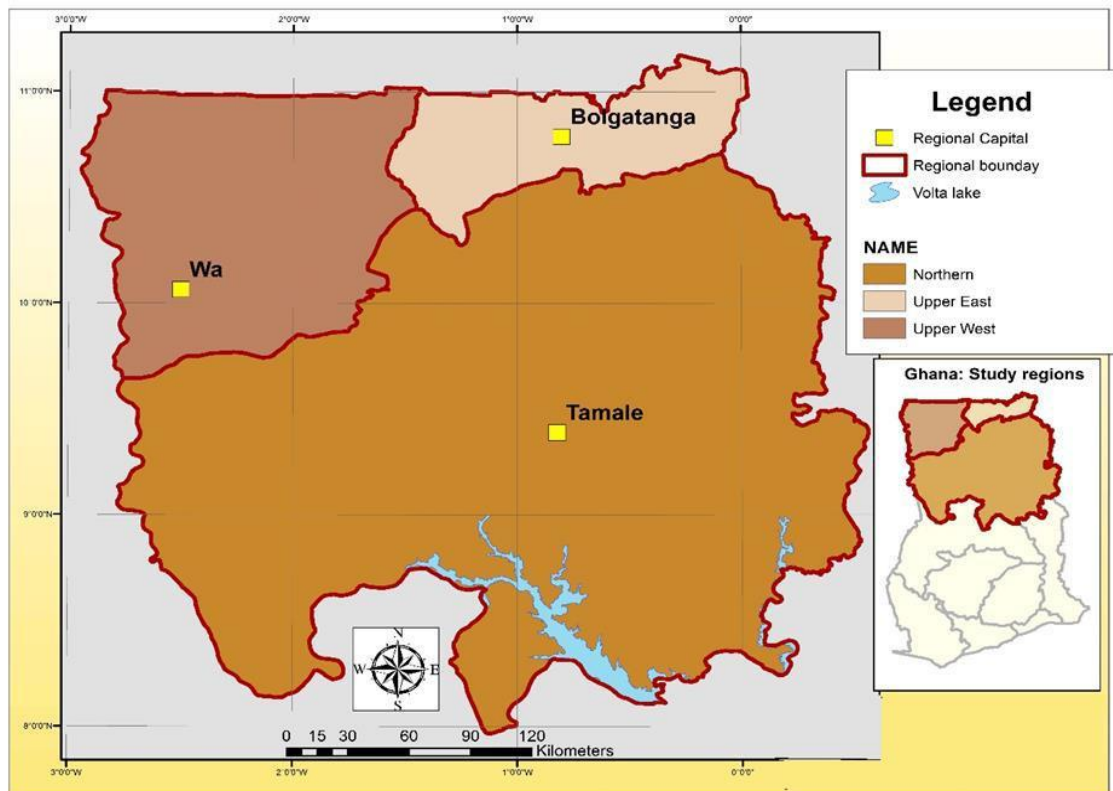


Figure 1: The Study Area

Source: Author's Construct from ArcGIS 10.

Geographically, the study covered the three regions of the north as seen in figure 1 which were Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions of Ghana. These have

recently been subdivided into six regions³. The northern part of Ghana covers about 41% of the land mass of the country and represents about 20% of the population (Yaro 2010).

1.4 Knowledge Gap

Spatial inequality in Ghana has mostly been defined in terms of the “north-south” divide as well as the rural-urban dichotomy which have partly come about as a result of differences in economic development as well as natural resource endowment (Tsikata & Seini 2004). Since the colonial era till now, the north has been relegated to the background in education and other developmental exploits thereby negatively affecting the socio-economic wellbeing of that area and by extension the whole of Ghana.

The educational inequality between the north-south divide in Ghana is still showing as proven by a research conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) where Accra, the capital city has a school attendance⁴ rate of 92% as against the country average of 80.8% while the Northern, Upper East and Upper West have school attendance rates of 50.4%, 63.4% and 63.6% respectively (Ghana Statistical Service 2014: 14). Thus, school attendance in southern Ghana is generally higher than what pertains in the north. Many factors could be attributed to this trend which poverty is one of them. Akyepong et al (2007: 85) have made the claim that “poverty is clearly at the root of poor participation in schooling in Ghana”.

Notwithstanding the fact that there have been existing studies on educational inequalities in Ghana (Alhassan & Odame 2015; Annim et al. 2012; Aryeetey et al. 2009; Senadza 2012;), little research has been conducted to study specifically the contribution of colonialism to such inequalities. Many studies rather concentrated on the general exploitation of the colonised by the colonisers (Settles 1996; Ocheni & Nwankwo 2012). On the international scene, the available literature has

³Northern Ghana has recently been subdivided into 6 regions which are: Northern, Upper East, Upper West, North-Eastern and Savannah Regions

⁴School attendance here is the measure of the number of children who attend school and how often they are present in school.

highlighted broadly on the colonisation of African and her place in the world economy (Shanguhya & Falola 2018; Ocheni & Nwankwo 2012) but not much is said about the specific causes of intra-developmental unevenness of African countries of which we find the colonialists role in the development of education as one of such causes. More so, there has never been any policy review of the northern scholarship scheme since its inception over sixty years ago to inform policy fine-tuning or otherwise. This thesis addressed these grey areas using Charles Tilly's theory of *durable inequality* to explain how the northerners were treated by the colonisers which affected their educational prospects.

1.5 Research Questions

The general research question of this thesis was: What are the causes of inequality of education that has persisted from the colonial era in Ghana till now?

To be able to answer this broad question, the following sub-questions were derived from the general question:

- 1 What were the motives behind the educational segregation and the underdevelopment of education in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast?
- 2 How did the colonialists manage to keep the Northerners predominantly undereducated?
- 3 What is the current state of the northern scholarship scheme compared to its original package?
- 4 What are the challenges confronting the effective implementation of the Northern Scholarship Scheme?
- 5 What is the effect of the Northern Scholarship Scheme in contributing to bridging the educational gap between the north and the south of Ghana?

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into six chapters. In chapter Two, the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis are elaborated. As the topic suggests, different concepts

of social differentiation have been reviewed to give meaning to the subject matter under investigation. It has been pointed out in the chapter how the process of state-formation and nation building can bring about unequal distribution of resource thereby excluding others. Colonialism has also been said to have brought about inequalities among people within countries. The thesis is principally anchored on Charles Tilly's durable inequalities where I pointed out certain practices that bring about the perpetuity of inequality of education in northern Ghana as compared to the south.

Chapter Three details the mixed methods approach that was used in this thesis. To answer the five research questions posed in the thesis, three main data collection methods were used. In-depth interviews and document analysis were used to collect data for the specific research questions (1 to 3) that needed data on the history of the colonial times and how that affected the growth of education of the north as well as the evolution and development of the NSS package. The remaining two research questions (4-5) were answered through the use of Q methods. I explained in detail in Chapter Three why these methods were combined, how they complemented each other and how they were used in the collection of data for the thesis from the beginning to the end.

In sequel to the different data gathering methods used in Chapter Three, Chapter Four presents the first empirical chapter where the historical as well as the colonial antecedence of the inequality of education in Ghana has been elaborately shown. The chapter traces the schemes that were used in the colonial era that left the Northern part of Ghana with less education. It also showed how the northerners themselves at the initial stage of formal education were not ready to send their children to school but changed their attitude when they later realised the importance of formal education.

Chapter Five begins with the discussion on the current state of the NSS as compared to its original package and also explores shareholders' perspectives about the effects and performance of the NSS in bridging the gap between the north and the south. This is done using Q methodology as a data collection method. The chapter

also shows various challenges confronting the implementation of the NSS which have made educational inequality in the country persistent.

Chapter Six draws conclusions and recommendations of the study. This chapter summarises the key findings and main arguments of the thesis and also discusses the contribution it makes to knowledge.

An epilogue is the final chapter (7) where I made some policy recommendations as well as presented my personal reflection regarding the policy.

Chapter Two

2. Social Differences and Divisions in Nation-State Formation: The Essence of Social Exclusion and Inequalities in education

This chapter reviews theories of social differences and divisions in the light of nation-state formation so as to highlight how these theories and concepts explain some aspects of social inequalities in society in general and Ghana in particular. For us to understand the inequalities that exist between northern and southern Ghana, there is the need to look at how colonial nation-state formation has contributed to these inequalities. I will begin with a discussion on how social boundaries could bring about the uneven distribution of resource and how this could negatively affect the education of some social groups. Inasmuch as educational policy is geared towards nation-building, I will review concepts such as the construction of national identity, the nation-state, state-formation and educational policy to show how social inequalities are created in the process of colonial and post-colonial nation-building. Consequently, I will theorise social exclusion to explain how groups can be excluded in the provision of education by the powerholders of the state. This will then lead to the main theoretical anchor of this thesis which is Charles Tilly's *durable inequality* where I link educational inequality to Tilly's (1999) mechanisms of durable inequalities to explore how persistent the educational inequalities are in Ghana.

2.1 Symbolic and Social Boundaries

As we will see in the empirical chapters of this thesis (Chapters 4 and 5), the differences that exist between the north and the south of Ghana are not simply a matter of economics but also symbolic and social boundaries play a role. The case of Ghana in relation to the research question of how the colonialists supplied minimal education to the northern part of the country was partly precedent on the 'divide-and-rule' strategy (by the colonialists) which clearly was boundary work at play. As we will see later in this thesis, borders and boundaries were drawn that

brought about categorical pairs among the people of the Gold Coast where the northerners were symbolically kept as one people and given less education. As pointed out by Tilly (1999), when categorical pairs are institutionalised, it generates durable inequalities. These boundaries may not have necessarily and directly produced unequal share of resources but they played the role of demarcating where more resources should go.

The world is full of borders and boundaries, visible or invisible, social or economic and physical or imaginary which keep people apart. Boundaries serve a useful purpose despite the fact that they separate people, nations, things and geographical locations that may be difficult to crossover. It is by this reason that Zerubavel argues that we draw boundaries because of our fundamental need for orderliness and the fear of chaotic scenarios without boundaries that make us to “grasp” entities “visually as well as mentally” (Zerubavel 1993: 119). She avers that the world would have been unpredictable without boundaries and drew the analogy that: “only in the highly compartmentalized world of the supermarket, the encyclopaedia, or the Yellow Pages do we always know where to find things” (Zerubavel 1993: 119). In the same vein, one could imagine how void the world would have been without boundaries, markers and borders. Notwithstanding the argument of the usefulness of boundaries, they can be said to put people apart and have the potential of instituting social inequalities. For instance, the symbolic boundaries and borders that were created by the colonialists between the north and south of Ghana as we will read more about later in this thesis have lived with the country till date.

Weber, Max and Durkheim have been among the first Sociologists that had interest in boundary work and how boundaries shape society (Lamont & Molnár 2002). Marx Weber's work on Economy and Society tells us how status groups monopolise economic resources at the expense of the subordinate groups (Weber 1978). Karl Marx pointed out that society is dualised into boundary demarcations of the bourgeois and proletariat where the former did not give the latter its fair share of the resources (Marx 2008). On the part of Emile Durkheim in his book, 'Elementary forms of Religious Life', he shows how communities have been given identities by

virtue of their internal segments and their external parameters Durkheim & Fields (1996). In recent times, “boundaries“ have been on the radar of the social sciences in general and sociology in particular and scholarly works are in the areas of “cognition, social and collective identity,[...] census categories, racial and ethnic group positioning” and so on (Lamont & Molnár 2002: 167). Thus, contemporary sociologists largely focus on finding meaning of how different forms of social differences, which include boundary work do make impact on the social setting in which they find themselves. I will show later in this thesis that there has been a “bourgeois” and a “proletariat” relationship in the area of education in Ghana where these boundaries have separated the north from the south with uneven educational opportunities. Lamont and Molnar are also known to have made notable contributions in the discourse of “boundaries”. In one instance, they called for greater integration in the study of the concept of boundaries in order to bring about the “identification of theoretically” revealing connexions and variances in how “boundaries are drawn across contexts and types of groups” (Lamont & Molnár 2002: 168). They have defined symbolic/social boundaries as follows:

Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space [.....]. Social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities. (Lamont & Molnár 2002: 168)

Just as some scholars have pointed out that while social boundaries are recognized markers, symbolic boundaries move through classification struggles where bigger groups try to uphold their hegemony in relation to their status as symbolic boundaries change to social boundaries (Eliasoph & Lichterman 2003; Blokland 2017). In the light of this, I will like to point out that, this notion of boundaries play well in education in relation to the exclusion of some individuals, categories and groups. This is manifest in the situation where the powerful design the national curricula which are largely to the advantage of the privileged group and determines

who should benefit from the share of resources in the education sector of the economy. Again, schools are graded which puts boundaries that are not easily crossed by the less privileged social group as there is a 'sieving mechanism' which is designed and monitored by the power bearing group in society. Thus, as claimed by Domina et al. (2017: 5), "The decisions of educators and educational policy makers, as well as the structure of educational organizations, drive the allocation of resources and status among categories. As such, the categories that are forged in schools are the foundations upon which many lasting social inequalities are constructed in contemporary societies." In other words, as Charles Tilly pointed out, it is the actors in either boundary side that make a boundary real by "naming it, attempting to control it, attaching distinctive practices to it, or otherwise creating a shared representation" (Tilly 2005: 134).

In a fundamentally materialist position, symbolic and social boundaries sound metaphorical in that they are not real (physical) boundaries. Real boundaries are physical or natural hindrances that thwart you from moving from one place to the other or crossing into one territory from the other. However, that sounds simplistic in the sense that social life is not solely dealing with matter but the very meanings and constraining nature human beings make of scenarios. The constraining nature of boundaries makes them difficult to cross even though they are not physical. For instance, in the area of education in Ghana, most northerners are not able to send their children to the south (where education is comparatively better) to be educated not because there are physical barriers that prevent them from doing so, but because of the socio-economic boundaries that exist between the north and the south. Once it is expensive to send children from the north to school in the south, many parents from the north would not be able to afford that. This brings about such boundaries between "we" and "them," the "haves" and the "have-nots". Even though these are symbolic and conceptual boundaries, their constraining effects are like "real boundaries" and I argue that they should be conceived as such.

One will agree with Lamont & Molnar (2002) that symbolic boundaries are conceptual in that they come with some moral consciousness. As we will notice later,

we may ask about the relevance of moral ideas or moral consciousness in the inequality of education in Ghana. This is because there is arguably a shared blame in the said inequality when education at a point in time was open to the northerners but they did not want to send their children to school. It is important to add that if we do not treat symbolic boundaries as “real” boundaries, we must be in for trouble. The world would have been a chaotic place to live if we considered symbolic boundaries as “non-real,” completely void. I aver that in the era of communism which Marx predicted as society’s final stage of evolution, we could have still found boundaries therein. However, the issue in question is how such boundaries put some groups in a disadvantaged position thereby creating social inequalities.

In the case of Bourdieu (1984), he has been much particular about how class differences are formed because of consumption and life-style practices, whereas most studies on symbolic boundaries try to draw a broader logic and understanding into the kinds of people who make meaning of their social context; which informs us of the subject matter of how social distinctions are made (Barth 1969). This speaks to the issue where most secondary school students in southern Ghana do largely have a “bourgeois lifestyle” as compared to their northern counterparts. This is because they are fed well and do have the needed resources that will make them perform well in their exams. This life-style practices put them in a different domain which is different from those in the north. A case in point is Tilly (1999), where he asserts that categories are relational and are made up of actors who have a common boundary; making them different from others who are excluded by the said boundary.

These scholarly ideas of boundaries play very well to (re)produce inequality of education in most parts of the world but not only in the developing world like Ghana. By the foregoing assertion, recent scholars argue on the determinants of segregation in the school and see it as a form of social closure where dominant groups exclude out-groups from getting their full and equitable access to resources related to the school (Fiel 2015). As in Charles Tilly’s study where he found out that migrant network draw boundaries that exclude others, schools also provide similar

boundaries for the benefit of valuable resources as school segregation brings about the “exclusion of some groups from the formal educational experiences of other groups” (Hanselman & Fiel 2016: 4; Tilly 1999).

The process of national development is a place where social boundary making can be found. This is because the state assumes a hegemonic position where it takes charge of sharing resources and determining who gets what and where to place what. In this process, geographical and social boundaries are drawn. To this effect, Wimmer Andreas argues that a: “political sociology approach allows us to explain where in a social landscape the boundaries of the nation are drawn; or, to put it differently, which ethnic communities are included in a national project and which ones remain outside of its imaginations”. (Wimmer 2011: 723). Therefore, in the next section, I will discuss the nation state and how the process of state formation can produce social exclusion, especially in the area of education.

2.2 National Identity, the Nation State, Nation-Building and Education

This subchapter examines the interplay among the nation state, national identity, education and nation building. It looks at how colonial as well as modern states are formed and how they can result in unequal distribution of resources among social groups. Education is used to create national identity and, in the process, can produce categorical pairs in the nation state. Through educational policy, the ruling class in the nation state embarks on the process of nation building to the benefit of its citizens. However, some minority groups can also be disadvantaged in the same process. As will be highlighted later in this thesis, an educational policy in Ghana which was meant to construct national identity and nation building in a homogenous manner later rather resulted in some parts of the country becoming disadvantaged in another way through that. The focus of the subchapter is not individual identities but group identities as this will manifest later where I discuss national identity, nation-building and citizenship education.

2.2.1 Social Identities in the Nation State

The conceptualisation of social identity is relevant to this study because it helps make the claim that social identities in Ghana come as a result of boundary work and by these identities, groups are treated as different entities (northerners & southerners). In this section, I am much particular about social identity but not personal identity where we shall see how these identities are necessary conditions to belong and for the formation of groups which subsequently does exclusion. The concept of "Identity" can be nebulous if not well defined. There is personal identity, which largely is in the interest of the psychologists which means how one single person self-categorises and being a unique entity compared to other person(s) as opposed to the more sociological concept, social identity which entails a collective-categorization which puts some people in a (in) group as compared to others in an (out) group by virtue of certain characteristics or markers (Blokland 2017).

According to Korostelina (2016: 101), social identity is said to produce "the process of border formation between social groups: it forms along this boundary and is therefore defined by the relationship between "them" and "us." In this light Dei (2005: 270) pointed out that: the colonizing discourses of 'sameness' have had the material and symbolic effect of 'hiding differences', among ascribed groups of people in Ghana. It will be revealed later in this thesis that this translates into the colonial history of Ghana. Despite the fact that northern Ghana has been grouped as one people, there are major social, and economic differences that are among the different social groups in the north. Their poverty levels are different as well as their educational attainments. The purpose of this section is to reveal how social identities do have the tendencies of creating boundaries and for that matter capable of producing social inequalities of education.

Brock & Tulasiewicz (1985: 1) conceptualised identity as: "the state of distinctiveness achieved by an act of separation produced either by external pressure exercised by a group or individual upon another with the aim of isolating it". Going by this notion, one could cite the example that the northern part of the Gold Coast was given the "northern identity" which lumped almost all the people

from the savanna ecological zone as one people which eventually isolated that part of the country. This kind of identity which is about the isolation of northern Ghana is manifested in the words of Roger Thomas:

Administratively, the protectorate [Northern Territories] was regarded separate unit, with a distinct rate of social and political development. This policy meant the protectorate suffered, as it has continued to suffer, from serious educational disadvantages compared with Ashanti and the Colony the south. (Roger 1974: 427)

When a social identity is formed or ascribed to a group of which gives it a certain definition, the “others” who are not part of the group are excluded. The very beginning when people start to be referred to as “a different people” from the others, not belonging to a particular social group, thereof, boundary making begins. Also, this identity is not necessarily formed by the reference group itself but sometimes formed by the power asymmetry which Tilly (1999: 8) points out that “paired and unequal categories, consisting of asymmetrical relations” is one of the roots of categorical inequality. In so doing, we are told that we often draw lines of differentiation without knowing we do because we take it for granted that we draw them, for which reason they elude our memory (Zerubavel 1993; Jenkins 2008). A case in point is where the northern part of the Ghana is a given the identity— Northern Territories by the colonisers where they are seen as one people but there are marked differences among them such that they do not even speak the same language. This is what Anderson (2006: 6) calls an “imagine community” because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”. Likewise, this kind of behaviour has aptly been articulated by MacKinnon and Bowlby:

Social identity theory proposes that broad social categories or attributes (gender, ethnic origin, and so on) describing groups to which one belongs, or to which one feels one belongs, are

represented in one's mind as social identities. Thus, conceived social identities become important component [...] motivating group comparisons and behaviour that favour the in-group (MacKinnon & Bowlby 1984: 71).

This ties in with the point Zerubavel makes that a boundary enables us to be able to ascertain as to who is a group member and who is not; which arguably enables group members to acquire a collective identity and further explain why group members guide their boundary so jealously when their group identity is in jeopardy (Zerubavel 1993). What this stands to reason is that, because of our anxieties of the possible consequences that an amorphous social collective may bring to us, we will often like to have clear demarcations between “We” and “them” as well as maintain the boundaries that are drawn. It thus stands to reason that ‘boundary making’ and ‘social identity’ are intertwined in a two-way relationship, each having an influence on the other. In some cases, who draws the boundaries and for what purpose as well as the criteria used in drawing such boundaries are not all the time static. That is because depending on somebody's reason today, a person(s) could be included. However, when the reason changes tomorrow, the said person(s) could be excluded. A typical case in point (as well be discussed later) is when the people of the Northern Territories in Ghana were excluded from the provision of education by the colonialists for varied reasons only for them to be provided with educational opportunities when independence was drawing closer. Thus, it can be concluded that some boundaries become fluid due to the exigencies of the times.

2.2.2 Colonialism, the Nation State and State Formation

The imprints of colonialism are part of the formation of the Ghanaian nation state. As the colonialists needed a state machinery in order to be able to achieve the aim of their coming to Africa, they introduced their own governance systems in the course of formation of the nation state. We will realise in the ensuing chapters of this study that the colonial process of forming the nation state left a category of people behind which has since caused the underdevelopment of such people.

A nation and a state are seen as two different concepts where the “nation” is considered a “cultural community” while the state is taken as a “territorial, political unit” (Biswas 2002: 178). This communitarian notion of a nation is also shown by Steiner when he claimed that, “a nation is a community of people from mainly a common descent, history, or language” whereas as “a state is a political community under one government” (Steiner 2016: 126). Such a people may form a unified government or inhabit a specific territory. What makes it relevant to theorise the nation state in this study is that the development of education in Ghana has to do with ethnic, historical and spatial dimensions which will help in the understanding of regional inequalities as I will show later in the empirical chapters.

Anthony Smith defines a nation: “as a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (Smith 1991: 14). On the part of Anderson (2006: 4), he describes the nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”. He goes on to clarify that an “imagined community” is not the same as an “existing community” in the sense that the “actual community” is not seen by members but they only imagine it in their minds (Anderson 2006: 4). One fundamental point that Anderson added is that the nation is “imagined as a community” for the fact that notwithstanding the “inequalities and exploitation” that may prevail, the nation is all the time seen as ‘a deep, horizontal comradeship’ (Anderson 2006: 7). Benedict Anderson’s notion of imagined community is related to how the northern part of Ghana could be seen as an “imagined community” because at a point in time the north was not connected to south and were not known well by the Gold Coast. They (northerners) existed more in the minds of the colonisers and the southern part of the country. Thus, Benedict Anderson’s concept of nation as an “imagined community” is somewhat in the thinking of a modernist and a historicist. However, Smith (2010) argues that despite the fact that nations could be the product of modernity we can still find the endurance of ethnic elements in modern state notwithstanding the effect of globalisation. Thus, identity of ethnicity which sometime predates the nation state endures with the development of the nation state in the process of state formation.

The trajectories of state formation and nation-states needs to be analysed, above all, and not being taken as natural or given entity. This is because Anderson argues that history is a “memory” which produces a community by bringing together diverse people through their shared past. He asserted that “history emplotted in particular ways” that the issue of boundary maintenance in the area where the ‘us’ speaks the same language of the ‘other’ (Anderson 2006: 197). According to Wong & Apple (2002: 181), “State formation is generally understood as the historical process through which ruling elites struggle to build a local identity, amend or pre-empt social fragmentation, and win support from the ruled”. This notwithstanding, Green (2018) points out that how an ethnic group relates with the nation-state may not necessarily depend on its size and degree of colonial partition. The literature on nationalism however points to the fact that some ethnic groups form the core group of the state such that some authors call them the *staatsvolk* or state people (Gat & Yakobson 2013: 103). When it comes to the area of inequality of education and the formation of the nation state, Rodney (2018) asserted that the colonialists’ introduction and development of education in Africa was a replica of a capitalist class based type in Europe which the racism component of it came to bolster the hegemonic ethnic differences in Africa.

As will be discussed later, the history and state formation of Ghana (then Gold Coast) is challenged with exploitation, marginalisation and social group fragmentations. An “imagine community” known as the ‘north’ of Ghana who largely are linguistically differentiated even though they are conceived ‘one people’ as compared to their southern counterparts who were much closer and connected to the colonialists. Talking about the exploitative colonial state formation, Lange and his colleagues have pointed out that, “the varying degrees of colonial exploitation and the differences in the size of the indigenous population also affected state orientations toward the provision of public goods and the promotion of human welfare” (Lange et al. 2006: 1440). The relegation of some tribes to the background by the colonialists was not only in the Gold Coast but covered most of the places that were colonised. Rodney recounted that the northern part of Kenya and south of Sudan did not get enough development from the colonialists and were thus not well integrated into the capitalist economy (Rodney: 2018).

In the era of colonialism and the formation of the nation state as I earlier on alluded to, there had been ethnic segregation as part of the process. Mahmood Mamdani vividly shows how divided citizens and subjects have been made in the postcolonial states in Africa; leading to a split between the urban and the rural, also between the modern and the customary within the hegemony of the state apparatus as he puts it:

The African colonial experience came to be crystallized in the nature of the state forged through that encounter. Organized differently in rural areas from urban ones, that state was Janus-faced, bifurcated. It contained a duality: two forms of power under a single hegemonic authority. Urban power spoke the language of civil society and civil rights, rural power of community and culture. Civil power claimed to protect rights, customary power pledged to enforce tradition. The former was organized on the principle of differentiation to check the concentration of power, the latter around the principle of fusion to ensure a unitary authority (Mamdani 1996: 18).

In corroboration with Mahmood Mamdani's position, Walters (2010: 197) has reported that in some countries, citizens from both the north and south of those countries were despondent about issues related to "lack of responsiveness to the needs of the poor, and the absence of a sense of connection with elected representatives and bureaucrats". There is no denying the fact that these attitudes have contributed to social inequalities in the nation state which were hitherto colonised as Lange et al. (2006) claim that

Colonial legacies of ethno-racial discrimination and exploitation had their own crucial effects on social development for all types of British colonies. Social stratification systems and labor-coercive institutions in-stalled by British colonizers contributed to enduring ethno-racial polarization (Lange et al. 2006: 1446).

In Ghana for example, the responsiveness to the needs of the poor are not properly met thereby creating underdevelopment in northern part where majority of the poor are (Ghana Statistical service 2018).

Some authors continue to discuss how divisive the colonialists were in the process of colonial state formation in Africa. When the colonialists took the reins of Africa, Cooper Frederick tells us that they “dismembered” the territory

[..] politically, socially, and economically: colonizers made their money by focusing investment and infrastructure on extremely narrow, largely extractive forms of production and exchange. They taught some indigenous peoples some of what they needed to interact with Europeans, and then tried to isolate them from others whose division into allegedly distinct cultural and political units (“tribes”) was emphasized and institutionalized” (Cooper 2005: 105).

Dirar (2007) contends that territorial and institutional segregation was ubiquitous in the practice of colonialism where not the same judicial and institutional systems were used for different colonial subjects which we can still see some relics of these systems even in post-colonial African states. In the same vein, Gat & Yakobson (2013:

292) explain that in the colonial state formation where we had small and many ethnic groups like Africa, many attempts to bring them together was likely to bring problems and “this is what has made the colonial boundaries, as opposed to colonialism itself, so sacrosanct in Africa ever since independence.” One of the attempts to bring the people together to form a national identity was arguably through the use of education which I will discuss in the next sub-section.

2.2.3 Construction of National Identity through Education

In many nations, it is assumed that individuals and groups are categorised into one ethno-national group or the other but all of them put together supposedly form one national identity. This national identity has varied roots and education is one of them. In Ghana, colonialism and colonial education forms part of the national

identity of the people. Despite the fact that national identity is being foisted through education, there is a great deal of ethnic diversity in Ghana. This is not related to only Ghana as Bush & Saltarelli (2000: 8) tell us that “there is a great deal of ethnic heterogeneity within contemporary states, despite the implicit claims to homogeneity of culture and identity”. For example, Ghana is ethnically polarised where various ethnic groups jostle for a fair share of the national cake which various sectors of the economy suffer especially education. As we will see later in the empirical chapters of this study, some ethno-regional groups arguably did not get a fair share of resources especially those of education since the colonial era.

In most cases, the national education system is meant to maintain the fictive posture as well as homogenising cultures in the nation. In this sense, Coulby (1997) suggested that education does the homogenisation of cultures through the “invention and use of national literature” and the promulgation of a common “national language”. He calls these two mechanisms the “naturalisation of citizens” (Coulby 1997: 11). Also, Parsons Carl pointed out that “the school is the most tangible, interpersonal arrangement for developing a general sense of common and shared experience, of commitment and of belonging in the nation-state”. (Parsons 1999: 9). In the case of Ghana for example, a national curriculum was adapted by the colonialists alongside the use of English as a national language where all the ethnic groups in Ghana learn in school wherever they are. This has brought about a sense of national identity in the country in the sense that English is understood and spoken across the ethnic divide in Ghana. However, Anderson (2006: 46) has argued that most of the nation-states have 'national print-languages', but in some cases it is only a minute fraction that uses that national language in conversation and in writing. Another dimension to the formation of this kind of national identity through education is the homogenisation of the school curricular where all students study the same syllabus and write one exam on the same day and at the same time.

However, there is another side of the coin other than the adoption of a national language through education which helps in the construction of a national identity. While I note that a national education systems and curricula are designed to serve

the interest of the nation, Churchill (1996) argues that the adoption of a nation-state model that has a national official language and curriculum favours some groups and to the disadvantage of others. To buttress this point, Harris cites K. Mukherji's in his description of the process of reorganising Indian states:

It is the middle-class job hunter and place seeker and the mostly middle-class politician who are benefited by the establishment of a linguistic state, which creates for them an exclusive preserve of jobs, offices and places, by shutting out, in the name of the promotion of culture, all outside competitors (Harris 1987: 176).

As explained by Green (1997: 45), the imbalanced nature of national education systems seemingly came as a result of nation formation. He also argues that the expansion of education was a critical component of nation formation which clearly shows in states that were being formed like "France and Prussia after the French Revolution and in the northern USA during the Early Republic". Also Anderson (2006:113-114) points out that the new states had "nation-building policies" that were both sincere, popular nationalist enthusiasm, and a systematic, even Machiavellian, propagating the national agenda through the educational system and so forth. With this kind of mixed-bag policy orientations, the emerging states could have been using some educational policies to achieve a populist agenda but not necessarily having a thorough and committed implementation of them. This has lived-up till date as Anderson (2006: 163) has advised us to trace our immediate genealogy to the "imaginings of the colonial state". What he sought to do here is to cast a mirror on the colonial past to see and understand the present state. There is therefore the reason to suggest that our present posture is well rooted in our colonial past especially those states that were once colonized.

In recent times, sociology of education is preoccupied with gender, sexual, ethnic, local and "political" identities but what needs to be added is how national identities are constructed within the realms of globalisation and localisation (Tormey 2006: 311). The role of education in the general process of state formation cannot be overemphasised. It is in this light that former British colonies such as Ghana still

have the educational vestiges of the British system where some schools still practice the boarding system of education where students are accommodated and fed throughout their stay in school. The next is to discuss the role of educational policy in nation-building.

2.2.4 Educational Policy in Nation-Building

In the process of nation-building, there is no denying the fact that education plays a crucial role. This is because education fosters national belonging and identity in the process of building a formidable nation. When it comes to education and nation-building, one will realise that the national education systems emerged as a tool for state formation which gives a potent avenue to the building and unification of the nation-state (Green 1997). “The history of national education is thus very much the history of the nation state in formation- not just the record of its achievements” (Green 1997 : 170). This is in sync with Herbert Passin’s claim that:

educational reform ranks as one of the key measures in the transformation of Japan from a feudal to a modern nation state.... Through the use of uniform teaching materials and the diffusion of a national language..., the schools helped promote a common sense of nationhood and the displacement of regional by national loyalties (cited in Green 1997: 50).

Notwithstanding the fact that education plays a critical role in nation building, it is problematic in countries where educational policies are not geared towards equality and the reduction of group inequalities of education. For a country to attain a holistic and sustainable development, there is the need to carry all the citizenry along with it. Ball (2008: 153) points out that despite the fact that some forms of equity is part of the new “labour agenda of education”, equity is hardly part of the policy goal and that it is only connected to economic achievement in the end. I agree that equity as well as equality of education helps prepare all the children from different social groups to be able to contribute meaningfully to the building of the

nation state. Bush & Saltarelli (2000) have eloquently made a point in regard to that issue:

Historical cases can be identified where ethnic groups – and more broadly, social groups – have been denied access to educational resources and, therefore, excluded from full participation in the economic and social life of a country. Such obstacles have both an immediate and longer-term impact on the socio-economic status of the “affected groups (Bush & Saltarelli 2000: 9).

To ensure the successful implementation of educational policies that will inure to the benefit of the majority of its citizens, it is partly dependent on the resource-endowment of the state. Fuller & Robinson (1992) pointed out that, how rich a state is determines the leverage it has to be able to use educational policy to increase school enrolment as well as the growth of the state. In order to meet the demands of all the classes of people, it often behoves on the state to increase its expenditure in the area of education. As will be discussed later in this study, Ghana being a developing country, the state has a daunting task in that regard of successfully financing education. Fuller & Robinson tell us that:

The third world governments, nudged by their international bankers and benefactors, must build more classrooms, hire more teachers, and enrol more children. The heretical nation-state that chooses not to expand mass schooling quickly becomes the object of criticism within the international press and diplomatic circles (Fuller & Robinson 1992: 4)

This assertion of Fuller & Robinson is in line with the United Nations Organisations (UNO) guidelines to boost the total development of the world especially in developing countries. Goal four of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) seeks to: “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (United Nations 2015: 17). For this goal to be met by 2030 as envisioned, it calls for an increase in expenditure of education especially in developing countries but resource constraints could thwart the achievement of that

goal. This is more so because most countries in the developing world have the task of reducing regional inequalities in order to spur up national development.

2.2.5 Regional Educational Inequalities and Nation Building

This subchapter discusses how educational inequalities of formal liberal democratic states affect the building of the nation-state in a holistic manner. In the case of Ghana's postcolonial liberal nation-state, there have been attempts to use education to promote a modern democratic liberal state where the idea of education is seen as a tool to fight regional social inequalities in the country. Senedza Bernardin claims in a study in Ghana that there was a relationship between poverty and educational inequality (Senedza 2012), which gives reason in using education to reduce the regional disparity in Ghana. However, it is also fundamental in the sociology of education that formal education though brings about socio-economic development and nation building, it is argued to be a reproducer of social inequality (Wotherspoon 2009). If these social inequalities take a regional dimension in a nation, it does have a marked impact on educational outcomes as Edgerton and his colleagues argue that regional inequality and social class do have a great impact in educational outcomes (Edgerton et al. 2008). In the same vein we will see later in the study that structural and regional inequalities in Ghana could account for the unequal educational outcomes between the north and the south of Ghana.

Regional developmental differences are found in many states but what is often overlooked in regional studies is that even if a state experiences an appreciable development, geographical and socio-cultural factors sometime concentrate that development to specific regions of the state (Hechter 1971). It has been argued that structural and regional inequalities could not be taken more seriously in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) which have dire political ramifications for those countries to contend with (Blaug et al. 1981). As will be revealed later, politics plays a part in how and why state authorities bring policies and programmes to deprived regions of the state. However regional developmental imbalance is a multifaceted issue in nation building:

The regional problem is extremely complex because it is the product of (or the umbrella concept for) the combination of a number of social inequalities. In other words, several structural problems appear in the guise of, or may be conceived of as, regional inequalities. More specifically, the following issues are involved: the ethnic-tribal differentiation may be expressed in this way; the centre-periphery inequality, i.e. the unequal distribution of power may be grasped as a regional problem; the urban-rural differences, which have far-reaching economic and social implications, may also be seen as a regional problem, especially in LDCs where entire regions may be almost completely called rural, without towns and without industry (Blaug et al. 1981: 23)

When people call for regional equality of education, it is not only because it enhances human capital production but that it is also a moral virtue that comes with fairness (Brighouse et al. 2010). One of the arguments I have been making in this study is that educational equality is one of the conditions that will bring about holistic and sustainable national development but educational policy lapses have the likelihood of perpetuating social inequalities among social groups. Educational inequalities have a link with economic inequalities and the former will prevent a long-term economic growth in the nation state (Holsinger & Jacob 2010). It is therefore argued, that educational opportunities should be extended widely to afford every citizen the opportunity to add value to themselves in order to meaningfully contribute to the agenda of nation building. This will contribute in mitigating social exclusion in society.

2.3 Education as a Nation State Project and Social Exclusion

This section discusses education in the light of the nation state project and how the provision of education has brought about unintended social exclusions. Particularly, the subchapter shows how social exclusion can be seen as a form of what Charles Tilly describes as opportunity hoarding Tilly (1999), which is a precursor of durable inequality where the theoretical anchorage of this thesis is placed.

Education is well positioned in the nation-state as it prepares the citizens of the nation state for employment in the various sectors of the economy. As a result, the expansion of education has been a priority to the nation-state of late. This has been pointed out by Liliana Esther Olmos & Carlos Alberto Torres that: “The twentieth century has been marked by the expansion of educational opportunities worldwide. It has been the century of education, and the role of the state in the promotion of public education has been decisive” (Torres & Olmos 2009: 73). Thus the state organises all activities that are geared towards making the people better citizens for them to be able to serve it meaningfully. This assertion is in line with Liliana Esther Olmos & Carlos Alberto Torres when they claimed that “...educational systems and practices are sponsored, mandated, organized, and certified by the state”. Torres & Olmos (2009: 77). In the light of this, Hossain Naomi tells us that:

For the state, education fit within a national project of poverty reduction and creating governable citizens. For the poor, education signals social inclusion and access to the state. Yet class and social distinctions through which state actors ‘see’ poor children result in beneficiary selection practices that routinely exclude the poorest from school, with longer-term adverse effects for their social inclusion and citizenship. (Hossain 2010: 1264)

Notwithstanding the fact that education is a critical tool in the nation-state project, there are possibly exclusionary tendencies that can lead to durable inequalities among people. Some practices in education can end up in bringing about social exclusion to some segments of society. Klasen, Stephan tells us how some policies can cause social exclusion which might be unintended:

[...] educational policies can (instrumentally) promote (or fail to stem) social exclusion as adults. This can happen through educational policies that promote social exclusion among children which then translates into social exclusion as adults, or policies that are not necessarily exclusionary but fail to prepare some

disadvantaged children adequately to be well integrated into the economic and social life of adult society. (Klasen 2001a: 423)

Since the thesis partly focuses on explaining the reasons for the exclusion of the northern part of Ghana in education at the dawn of colonialism, it is appropriate that the concept of social exclusion is theorised. This will bring a clearer understanding to the reasons and process of exclusion as well as make the point that social exclusion can lead to durable inequality. This will also help us to appreciate how the exclusion of northern Ghana was done and to show where exclusion of education occurred in the process of the colonial state formation.

There is no society in the world that is said to have a complete socially just system which is said to be absolutely sacrosanct. The discourse on social exclusion is thus wide and varied and largely attempts to enhance the meaning of poverty and inequality (Sayed 2002). Notwithstanding the fact that the concept, social exclusion originated from the global North (Kabeer 2000), its meaning has caught up with the Global South as well (Sayed 2002). This could largely be as a result of globalisation and colonisation and also the fact that poverty, one of the concepts for which social exclusion was introduced to explain is found in most human societies. In the context of Ghana, there are social issues such as marginalisation, deprivation, and poverty that speak to what forms exclusion can take.

2.3.1 Conceptualisation of Social Exclusion

In most of what is meant by social exclusion, there are the notions of poverty, hardship, deprivation, marginalisation, vulnerability, and segregation. Albeit, the usage and meaning of social exclusion is vague and shadowy (Peace 2001). As Silver and Miller put it, some people see exclusion as an umbrella term which encompasses poverty; while others consider it as the precursor and the consequential cause of poor conditions (Silver & Miller 2003). In the case of this thesis social exclusion in education is multifaceted where people are deprived and pushed to the periphery of society such that education becomes a “rare commodity” to them. Townsend (1987: 5) has defined deprivation “as a state of observable and demonstrable

disadvantage relative to the local community or the wider society or nation to which an individual, family or group belongs.” It can be told that northern Ghana is deprived not only economically, but also in the area of education and for that matter are largely victims of exclusion. As it will be revealed later in the empirical sections of this thesis, schools in the north suffer structural and socio-economic exclusion which started since the era of colonialism. What then is the meaning of social exclusion? Among the many definitions of social exclusion, the definition by Hilary Silver is worth noting. She defined social exclusion as:

[.....] a rupturing of the social bond. It is a process of declining participation, access, and solidarity. At the societal level, it reflects inadequate social cohesion or integration. (Silver 2007a: 4419)

The kind of meaning Hilary Silver gives to social exclusion at the societal level is one where a group of people can face exclusion if they lack access to resources that will make them participate in the local and national economies which is a dysfunctionality of the national bond. Thus, at the macro level of social exclusion, a group of people could be left out or behind because they are not connected through state policy to the whole society. Similarly Alan Walker and Carol Walker operationalised social exclusion as “a comprehensive formula which refers to the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in a society” (Walker & Walker 1997: 8).

Related to these connotations of social exclusion is what Max Weber calls social closure where a well-connected group will seek to draw boundaries to protect the common good by having a monopoly over resources that are supposed to be enjoyed by the generality of society. As aptly captured by Raymond Murphy, Weber’s notion of social closure is “the process of subordination whereby one group monopolises advantages by closing off opportunities to another group of outsiders beneath it which it defines as inferior and ineligible” (Murphy 1988: 10). Status groups can however monopolise resources if only they wield power which makes Weber to refer to the theory of social closure a theory of power and dominance (Murphy 1988). This can be

related to Tilly's (1999) argument of inequality being relational. In the case of Ghana, the power asymmetry among the north, the colonialists and southern part of Ghana produced structural and durable social inequalities.

Social exclusion sometimes comes with moral and justice implications and effects. The powers of the state which engages in resource-hoarding by excluding others from benefiting from the resources that they are entitled to could be trampling upon the fundamental rights of some social groups in the nation state. Despite the fact that every state tries to provide education for all the citizenry, some social groups are more favoured than others. Related to this, Room (1995) has added a rights-based dimension to the conceptualisation by asserting that social exclusion is the denial or nonrealisation of civil, political, and social rights of citizenship. Relating the explanation by Room to education, we will read later that the northern part of Ghana had their social rights trampled upon because they comparatively had low education from both the colonial and post-colonial states. Exclusion therefore happened in that regard.

As I earlier on pointed out that some scholars conceptualise social exclusion and purport it to be synonymous with poverty (Percy-Smith 2000), and even think the two can be used interchangeably, others stress on the multidimensionality of social exclusion. In this light, Madanipour and his colleagues have provided a useful definition as follows:

Social exclusion is defined as a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods (Madanipour et al. 2000: 22)

This definition of social exclusion by Madanipour is heavily embedded with some concepts that have to be unpacked to unveil the meaning of the concept. Similarly, other scholars (de Haan 1999; Voruba 2000; Madanipour et al 2000) put forward

the argument that the concepts goes wider to cover the mundane issues of human life where inequalities are brought to the fore. In the same vein, Somerville (1998) presented three dimensions of social exclusion as economic, political and moral while Madanipour et al (2000) added a cultural dimension to social exclusion to that of Somerville.

This is one of the definitions that sought to broaden the frontiers of social exclusion as it links a myriad of social problems that affect human beings thereby lowering their dignity and wellbeing. The fascinating part of this definition is how it seeks to portray that the problems that constitute social exclusion are intertwined and reinforcing which I think makes a wider meaning than terms that were hitherto used such as poverty and deprivation. What is also interesting here is that the socially excluded could be in an inevitably worsening situation due to the sequential or reciprocal cause and effects of the aforementioned social conditions. In other words, one social problem gives rise to the other which produces spirals of disadvantages that confront the lives of the excluded. For instance, education was denied northern Ghana which is one form of social exclusion and one effect of that can be said to be the relative poverty the people are experiencing there now (Ghana Statistical Service 2018). Thus, social exclusion stands to give a damning blow on the faces of the excluded in a more generalised disadvantaged situation (Percy-Smith 2000).

Despite the fact that there is no consensus among theorists about the meaning of social exclusion, many definitions of the concept seem to consider social inclusion as a multidimensional, dynamic and a relational process (Silver & Miller 2003; Sen 2000; Mathieson et al. 2008; Popay et al. 2008). Along this line, Jennie Popay and her colleagues consider social exclusion as:

Exclusion consists of dynamic, multi-dimensional processes driven by unequal power relationships interacting across four main dimensions - economic, political, social and cultural - and at different levels including individual, household, group, community, country and global levels. It results in a continuum of inclusion/exclusion characterised by unequal access to resources,

capabilities and rights which leads to health inequalities (Popay, et al. 2008: 2).

The key terminologies in Jennie Popay and colleague's definition of social exclusion are discussed in detail below in relation to other scholars for a clearer understanding of the concept.

Multidimensionality: Despite the fact that most sociologists agree that social exclusion is multidimensional, they cannot come to a consensus on what constitutes its dimensions. The multidimensional nature of social exclusion is where we have the combination of economic and social (this includes both political and cultural) deprivation (de Haan 1999; Silver 2007a). As Silver puts it, social exclusion goes beyond material poverty to include various forms of social disadvantages (Silver 2007b). Exclusion in the labour market could cause the lack of material resources which has to do with the economic and structural dimensional nature of social exclusion (Helemäe 2016). In relation to exclusion in education, the excluded will face a plethora of challenges in the labour market and other facet of the economy. Also, the multidimensionality of educational exclusion occurs when students from deprived areas such as some parts of northern Ghana will first have the problem of inadequate educational resources to contend with after which they have to compete with their colleagues in southern Ghana for placements in post-secondary education. This is moving from one facet of exclusion to another dimension which makes it multidimensional.

Social exclusion as a dynamic concept: Fischer (2011) views social exclusion not as a static concept but that which is processual when he proposed a working definition of the concept as " structural, institutional or agentive processes of repulsion or obstruction" (Fischer 2011: 2). This notion is in consonance with the proposition of Silver (2007a: 1) as she posits that people are all the time found in a 'multidimensional continuum'; they traverse in the direction of inclusion or towards a build-on "social rupture" (exclusion). Similarly, Estivill (2003) understands social exclusion as an aggregation of "confluent processes" alongside "successive ruptures" emanating from the system underpinning the society (Estivill 2003: 19).

There is no gainsaying that social exclusion is a process by which the excluded deviate or move away from what is considered a 'normality' controlled by social structure and institutions (Voruba 2000: 603). What it stands to reason is that social institutions, *sui generis* produce the constraining factors that push people to the fringes of society. As Blokland puts it, "community is the performance of boundary work" (Blokland 2017: 136) and when these boundaries are drawn exclusion stands to occur once the said boundaries have to be maintained. On the same tangent one could hypothesise that when lines are drawn and boundaries demarcated (imaginary or real), it means movement from one spatial/social unit to the other could be restricted thereby making exclusion to arise.

The Relationality of Social Exclusion: Many authors who view social exclusion as relational may be misconceived to have meant social exclusion is synonymous with poverty but then, their claim of the multidimensional nature of it puts the case to rest (Byrne 2010). While agreeing that social exclusion may be treated as both relational and dynamic, Silver (2007a) joins the relationality debate of the concept by arguing that ruptured relationships bring about exclusion and there are two opposing sides to it - the excluders and the excluded. What it means is that at most of the time where exclusion occurs, there is the notion of "we and them" in the case of group exclusion and this draws a dichotomy between two opposite sides which; one side are mostly the power brokers who take decisions that affect the very lives of the opposite side. As a result of this, there is the likelihood that the disadvantaged group could stand the risk of falling into the entrapment of poverty where there could be relational descriptive concepts such as "the rich and the poor", "the haves and the have nots" and the "bourgeoisie and proletariats". In support of the relationality argument, Sen (2000) contends that the core of the concept of social exclusion is found in stressing the 'relational' characteristics as regards 'deprivation of capabilities' and subsequently the experience of poverty (Sen 2000: 6). It is imperative to point out that just as those who see exclusion to be relational, Tilly (1999: 34) posits that the cause of inequality are "relational constraints within which all individual action takes place".

Context Specificity of Social Exclusion: All over the world, certain concepts mean differently depending on the time and space they are being used to which social exclusion is no exception. In the light of this, Silver & Miller (2003) argue that social exclusion inherently means different things depending on the context and the reference of inclusion. They went further to illustrate that in the American policy parlance, the mention of social exclusion firstly brings to mind racial discrimination (Silver & Miller 2003: 9). It is in this vein I do agree with this feature of social exclusion for the fact that when one talks of the excluded in a place like Ghana, it means the category of people who are deprived, poor and are at the fringes of society. It is therefore instructive to argue that the concept finds its meaning at a specific point in time and space based on the group of people that are largely vulnerable, unapologetically discriminated upon and predominantly deprived. Notwithstanding the fact that there are other conditions that could fall within the broad domains of social exclusion, there is always a pointer to one main social problem that seemingly has become a scare on the conscience of the generality of the people. Thus, social exclusion is quintessential to at least the leading problem that bears semblance with it. In other words, there is always a particular example to give when talking about social exclusion in time and space.

2.3.2 Social Exclusion/Inclusion, “two sides of the same coin”

The purpose of social policy is to correct some wrongs in society. As part of this study is to find out how an educational policy is contributing in bridging the gap between the north and the south of Ghana, it is appropriate to theorise how the implementation of some educational policies can bring about some forms of exclusions in the process. In this light, Biraimah Karin and his colleagues have studied educational policies on meals for school children and pupils' school transportation in Brazil and have concluded that these policies “can simultaneously be inclusionary and exclusionary by facilitating the inclusion of pupils within municipal schools, while excluding them from a quality education”. (Biraimah et al. 2008: 85)

According to them, this paradoxical two-way effect of educational policies occurred when some municipalities in Brazil decided to find another way of feeding the school children because the schools had poor infrastructure as well as untrained cooks and, in the end, “this new school function served to divert them from their focus on teaching and learning” (Biraimah et al. 2008: 85). On the part of how the policy of transportation for rural school children to school fared, they reported:

Moreover, making school transportation accessible to pupils in rural areas created a new demand on the budgets of the municipal system, often characterized by a large number of small municipalities with less than 10,000 inhabitants. The municipal education system bought buses or vans, hired drivers, and had to pay fuel and maintenance expenses. In some municipalities the services were outsourced to companies paid by the municipalities. But no matter what the solution chosen, all were too costly for municipalities' tight budgets. Thus, the implementation of these policies in association with the work conditions, salary and educational level of elementary school teachers led to the inclusion of pupils in the educational system, but to their exclusion from quality education (Biraimah et al. 2008: 85-65)

Many scholars see exclusion and inclusion as antonyms while others regard that notion as simplistic and argue that the two terms are not necessarily opposite in meaning. Some of the social scientists who have waded into the debate of the relationship between inclusion and exclusion are Alison Woodward & Martin Kohli. They argued that the two terms are not “necessarily opposites” and that they are “intricately linked leading to contradictions and paradoxes” (Woodward & Kohli 2007: 1). On his part, Sayed Yusuf as well as he and his friends argue that the two concepts are juxtaposed in a way that the inclusion of some people brings about the exclusion of others and that they are not opposing concepts because by considering them that way, we stand the risk of losing out the process by which people are

excluded or included (Sayed 2002; Sayed et al. 2007). Kabeer accentuated this assertion by aptly arguing that:

The intersecting nature of different forms of exclusion and inclusion results in the segmentation of society, and in clusters of advantages and disadvantages, rather than in a simple dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion. There are various ways in which these segments can be characterised. For instance, we can think in terms of privileged inclusion, secondary inclusion, adverse incorporation or problematic inclusion, self-exclusion and 'hard-core' exclusion (Kabeer 2000): 87).

He went on to explicate that "privileged insiders" take a central position of the mainline institution whose ideas shape the "rules and norms" while the "secondary insiders" are at the periphery of the group (Kabeer 2000: 87). Going by this, I argue that in some instances, we can find some kind of exclusion in an in-group which is supposed to be bounded by symbolic boundaries thereby making exclusion and inclusion two sides of the same coin. Again, going by Kabeer's explanation, as we will see later in this study the colonisers and their cronies in the Gold Coast were "Privilege insiders" while the north was the "secondary insider". This relational arrangement favoured southern Ghana where they had access to valuable resources of the nation state in comparative terms. Ironically, they were all "insiders" except that they were "insiders" of different positions and standing. Some were at a central position and controlling affairs whilst others were at a peripheral position. In consonance with this, Jackson argues that a binary and polarised construction of exclusion and Inclusion is paradoxical because that presupposes a "unitary" notion of power where the included wield power and the excluded have none or less of it. Power is however "dispersed, contingent and unstable" and "excludedness" is not fixed but in a continuum (Jackson 1999: 132). Nasir Carrim articulated his understanding of Inclusion/exclusion as "conjoined" concepts in theory and in empirical terms where the process of inclusion brings about exclusion and vice versa (Carrim 2003: 20).

In the light of this sociological ambivalent principle which informs us that there is the possibility for a social group to be included and excluded in the same process and in which I share in, I do relate it to the place of northern Ghana. When we talk of finding support for the poor, deprived and the generally excluded by way of social protection, it is not necessarily a panacea to the social problem at hand. This is because the act of inclusion can bring about exclusion unknowingly or unintendedly (Zerubavel 1993). More so, inclusion as it may seek to clear barriers and make opportunities available to all could have latent or unintended consequences that may not completely make the plight of the excluded better. Thus, the excluded stand the chance of being in a vicious cycle of exclusion which one could term "being part without feeling part". This is a double-barrelled manifestation in education ably argued by Somel (2019: 1) as: "On the one hand, school is considered a stage for assembling and harmonizing different social groups; on the other hand, it is a stage for legitimate segregation."

Having read the debates on these concepts, I would like to position myself with scholars who argue that inclusion and exclusion could be two intertwined concepts. Like the double edged sword, as one side of it does inclusion the other side performs exclusion. Also, Charlse Tilly seems to agree with this assertion as he writes:

Since every inclusion entails some exclusion, these processes [inclusion & exclusion] incorporate categorical inequality into public affairs. Where polity members succeed in directing state-controlled resources to their own exclusive activities and in using government power to commit other people's effort to the extraction of return from those resources, state-backed exploitation and opportunity hoarding occur (Tilly 1999: 199).

In a similar way, we shall later in this thesis see that the north has been a part without finding sufficient part of the resources. They were said to be incorporated into the Gold Coast by the colonialists but were treated as peripheral to it. Despite the fact that they look closer when the need arises, their remoteness is much

conspicuous than their closeness to the larger group. They are therefore paradoxically inside and outside the group at the same time.

2.3.3 Social Exclusion in Education

Education is one of the vital tools that every nation uses for inclusive and sustainable development. That is mostly the reason why many countries around the world commit a greater chunk of their annual budgetary allocations to finance education. All the seriousness and huge expenditures in the education sector by various countries seemingly seek to give credence to a quotation that is attributable to Derek Bok “ If you think education is expensive, try ignorance” (Greene & Greene 2004: 204).

Although education is important to human wellbeing and national development, many countries find it difficult to put all children in school by virtue of various challenges including budgetary constraints or lack of the appropriate policies that will rope-in the excluded in education. In this regard, Yusuf Sayed has pointedly explained that the numbers of global illiteracy and children-out-of-school do make a blunt reminder that the “Education for All” (EFA) is palpably “not for all” and that those who are not in school in many societies and the most “marginalised and disadvantaged” are almost out of reach (Sayed 2009: 25). In that regard, exclusion in education has become a topical issue in contemporary times that is worth the attention of social researchers.

Exclusion in education has varied meanings in social policy cycles (Sayed 2002; UNESCO 2012). Most often, some people are tempted to think that exclusion in education is only in the area of the disabled who are seen to be largely vulnerable (Sayed et al. 2007). However, the concept has an extensive connotation which makes vulnerability and deprivation much broader than disability which could bring about vulnerability. Sayed and his colleagues have offered a classic definition that shows how multifaceted educational exclusion could be:

Education exclusion is a facet of social exclusion and manifests in a spectrum of social and psychological inequities. Extreme

educational exclusion arises when individuals and groups find themselves systematically excluded from rights and entitlements which are theirs as a result of their membership of a society and includes denial of resources and facilities. [...] exclusion could take the form of subtle forms of manipulation of delivery of educational goods and services to favour some individuals and groups at the expense of others. (Sayed et al. 2007: 4)

What this stands to reason is that every individual or group has inalienable rights to an equitable share of resources in respect of education and if some categories are denied such rights, they are being excluded in education in that case. In the same vein, Klasen Stephen talks about the rights or capabilities approach in defining exclusion and if these rights or capabilities are trampled upon, it means society condones social exclusion indirectly by not granting school children their fair share of the resources that will make them develop their potentials to the maximum (Klasen 2001b). It is important to add that the poor, vulnerable and marginalised face the risk of exclusion once they are mostly found in the fringes of society. Their voices are not heard and their concerns hardly are met. The combined effect of this is poverty, deprivation and marginalisation. Govinda & Bandyopadhyay (2010) have pointed to the multidimensionality of exclusion from education which is a concomitant of many factors. This is because, it is not only poverty that can bring about exclusion but also some kinds of disadvantages with regard to “social norms, cultural biases and social relations” are also causal factors (Govinda & Bandyopadhyay 2010: 342). Govinda and his colleague went on to assert that exclusion in education is a process but not an event and that many factors that shape the life of the excluded child from the educational system are found in the family, community, peer group and many are in the school environment where the child is supposedly learning.

In taking a broader and comprehensive view of exclusion in education, one sees it beyond just out-of-school children to include those who have life challenges with poverty, adequate access to school facilities, the continue stay in school, leaning

needs of school children as well as quality teaching (UNESCO 2012). It is instructive to point out that the school setting has a myriad of factors that militate against the smooth acquisition of knowledge. In a society where educational resources are not equitably distributed it goes to affect the performance of some categories of children in the learning process. It may also lead to school dropout, child delinquency and other social vices which are capable of making those children to languish in a gamut of social inequalities.

Some forms of social exclusion in the state and the process of state formation are related to what Charles Tilly calls opportunity hoarding - one of the mechanisms that cause durable inequality in society (Tilly 1999). Thus, when there is the practice of opportunity hoarding, there could arise social exclusion. To hoard opportunities is simply to keep something valuable (opportunities) away from the others which excludes them. For that matter, doing opportunity hoarding is tantamount to doing exclusion. In the next subchapter, I will discuss Charles Tilly's work on durable inequality where I will relate this theory to how inequalities in education persist.

2.4 Categorical Inequalities: A Dialogue with Charles Tilly on Durable Inequalities

As mentioned earlier, this study draws a lot from Charles Tilly's (1999) concept of *Durable Inequality* to explain the regional inequality of education in Ghana where an educational policy is being used to deal with such inequalities. As will be highlighted later in the empirical chapters, the regional educational inequalities in Ghana are unsurmountable despite the introduction of an educational policy to fight them. Using Charles Tilly's concept of categorical inequality, I will uncover how the education system and the *Northern Scholarship Scheme* in Ghana reinforce categorical pairs which make educational inequalities persistent.

Charles Tilly studied why long term structural inequalities come about, what their key characteristics are and how they persevere and change in the social milieu. His work on *Durable Inequality* has brought a new dimension into the study of social inequality. He is largely opposed to the individualist approach where social

inequality is seen as operating through the attributes of individuals and argues for the relationality of the study and causes of inequality when he asserted that inequalities begin from “interpersonal transactions or ties” and are basically rooted in power asymmetries (Tilly 1999: 18). He further explained that: “Instead of reducing social behaviour to individual decision-making, social scientists urgently need to study the relational constraints within which all individual action takes place” (Tilly 1999: 34). In response to Charles Tilly’s argument that the study and causes of social inequality has structural and organizational antecedence, Wright (2000) described that “Tilly’s approach is built on two metatheoretical foundations: anti-individualism and what might be termed combinatory structuralism” (Wright 2000: 459).

I have in this thesis used some of the concepts of Charles Tilly to explain how educational inequalities are durable in Ghana. Before discussing what Charles Tilly means by durable inequalities, I first look at what he says concepts are in order to justify my choice of his concepts. According to Tilly:

Concepts are tools. Their values depend on whether they do the job at hand. Just as a crystal shovel looks lovely but remains useless for digging coal, elaborate concepts sometimes glitter alluringly but break down when put to work (Tilly 1999: 73).

It can be argued that Tilly’s concepts in *Durable Inequalities* do have the intricacies of how groups and individuals are detached from one another and illuminate our understanding of what it means for equality and inequality to exist. By this, I point out that Charles Tilly’s concept of durable inequality is appropriate in explaining the type of educational inequality that exists between the north and south of Ghana. In order to put things in perspective, Charles Tilly sets-off by saying that:

The task at hand is to explain the emergence, survival, and change of categorical inequality and then to ascertain how much of what appears to be individual-to-individual inequality actually results from categorically organized differences. Let us see how well the tools discussed here—scripting versus local knowledge; payments

as gifts, entitlements, and compensation; a basic set of network configurations including chains, hierarchies, triads, organizations, and categorical pairs; and the four mechanisms of exploitation, opportunity hoarding, emulation, and adaptation can help us do the explanatory job.(Tilly 1999 :73)

Just as Tilly posited how categorical inequality emerged, survived and changes; this thesis is interested in how this plays out in education. To begin with, Tilly describes durable inequalities as follows:

Durable inequalities are those that last from one social interaction to the next, with special attention to those that persist over whole careers, lifetimes, and organizational histories” (Tilly 1999: 6).

What this simply means is that durable inequalities do not happen once and they are over but can be seen to be progressively variable and change from one scenario to the other. It is worthy to note here that the persistence of inequalities is what makes them durable; because they are not easy to overcome, it makes them straddle across time, location and organisational cultures. Durable inequalities stand to make the most impact when they are tenacious. In that way, they become progressively uneasy to identify because they have the potential of being taken for granted and increasingly tough to eliminate largely because they assume normative concepts. As a result, when there are normative inequalities, it means we are tempted not to critically examine such inequalities. This may make them become covert and thus not placed on the radar for proper analysis. For example, it can be argued in the area of education that some social interventions are supposed to reduce educational inequalities among social groups but as to whether the said interventions are serving the purposes for which they are introduced is another matter. There is therefore the need to put claims and concepts of inequality under a careful scrutiny to ascertain how viable they are. This thesis will later show how durable the inequality of regional education in Ghana is, as one form of inequality leads to another, in a spiral way.

Another aspect of Tilly's work on *Durable Inequality* is his idea of inequality that comes about as a result of the distributional imbalance of resources in society. He pointed out that:

Human inequality in general consists of the uneven distribution of attributes among a set of social units such as individuals, categories, groups, or regions. Social scientists properly concern themselves especially with the uneven distribution of costs and benefits—that is, goods, broadly defined. (Tilly 1999: 25)

The extract above reveals that Tilly's work is not only about persons but also about social units and how they enjoy social benefits in the form of goods. In his view, the uneven distribution of goods (which can be costs and benefits) bring about inequality. Particular attention needs to be paid to the meaning Tilly attaches to "goods". Goods must not necessarily be seen as tangible all the time. Sometimes goods are viewed as products but what Tilly seemingly means are things that can be exchangeable and they have "cost and benefits" (Tilly 1999: 25); so instead of being only tangible, they are exchangeable and if you can exchange them for different cost to acquire different benefit unevenly, there lies inequality. In relating Tilly's analysis of inequality to education, schools can be considered as social units that enjoy "goods" as social benefits. Thus, when educational resources which Tilly calls "goods" are unevenly distributed by the powerholders of the state for their own inordinate reasons, inequality sets in. More so when the share of the national cake in relation to the education sector of a particular country is unfairly distributed according to categorical pairs that have spatial, ethnic and gender dimensions, this brings about social inequality. It will be revealed later in this thesis how educational resources were shared unevenly in the lines of the north-south categorical pairs in Ghana which produces durable inequalities. Similar to Tilly's claim of uneven distribution of resources causing inequality, Sidanius & Pratto argued that intergroup domination, discrimination and prejudice are the channels through which human societies get themselves into "group-based hierarchies" where members of the dominant group inequitably gets hold of the good things in life

(good education, powerful roles, good housing, good health and); as members of the subservient group get the bad things in life (relatively poor housing, health and education) (Sidanius & Pratto 1999: 31).

2.4.1 Mechanisms that cause Durable Inequalities

Tilly tries to let us understand that there are four causal mechanisms through which categorical inequality comes about and get maintained by organisations. He calls these mechanisms exploitation, opportunity hoarding, emulation, and adaptation. He talks about how durable inequalities occur and he says exploitation and opportunity hoarding bring about the installation or origin of what he calls categorical inequalities while emulation and adaptation produce the generalisation of the influence of these categorical inequalities (Tilly 1999). In relation to how durable inequality of education is formed, I will operationalise each of these concepts as used by Tilly.

2.4.2 Exploitation

Charles Tilly considers exploitation as the prime mover of durable inequality which is complemented by opportunity hoarding. He espoused that exploitation occurs when “well connected group of actors control a valuable, labour-demanding resource from which they can extract returns only by harnessing the effort of others, whom they exclude from the full value added by that effort”; in this vein, categorical boundaries put the principal beneficiaries apart which Tilly labelled “exploiters, profiteers, or rent-seekers” (Tilly 1999: 87).

According to him, exploitation is often performed by the elite or the oppressors while opportunity hoarding is done by the non-elite generally or the oppressed (Tilly 1999). So, we have two mechanism that talk about the superior group and the subordinate group. The superior group will do the exploitation while the subordinate group hoard the opportunities. In a society where the dominant group organises the value-addition of resources and turn to deny the marginalised of equitably enjoying the resources they have helped in producing, especially in the education sector, then such a dominant group is said to be indulging in exploitation

and this instils inequality in that society. As it is later explained in this thesis, this falls in line with the situation of the inequality of education in Ghana where the colonialists used the northerners to extract the needed resource but only gave them a minimal share of those resources by way of unequal distribution of educational facilities. It shall thus be argued later that the underdevelopment of northern Ghana in both economic and education aspects is largely due to how the area was exploited from the colonial era till now.

As Dorling aptly puts it: "Increased educational provision that has been increasingly unequally distributed has led to the rise of a new elitism" (Dorling 2010: 36). This power asymmetry as Tilly suggested is a producing agent of durable inequalities (Tilly 1999). In education, the power players determine the future educational aspirations of everybody and they sometimes do this by exploiting the "have nots" to the advantage of the dominant group. This is what Dorling calls "elitism education" which does less learning and more of dividing people which he refers to as "educational apartheid" where "particular groups are increasingly seen as 'not fit' for advanced education, as being limited in their abilities, as requiring less of an education than the supposedly more gifted and talented" (Dorling 2010: 64). Tilly (1999) argues against the school of thought that blames the victim of inequality as not having the natural predisposition to succeed and claims that inequality is relational. Therefore, educational inequality can largely be relational where some groups are given less education as compared to others but not because some are "smarter" than others which is one of the reasons why we have educational inequalities in nation states.

The principal mechanism of durable inequality by Charles Tilly is drawn from Marxist theory. He related his idea of exploitation as a way of synthesising Marxist and Weberian thinking by saying that his analysis "builds a bridge from Max Weber on social closure to Karl Marx on exploitation and back" (Tilly 1999: 7). However, Tilly seems not to have adopted Marxist theory in full when he pointed out Tom Bottomore's Marxian concept of exploitation that:

Exploitation occurs when one section of the population produces a surplus whose use is controlled by another section. Classes in Marxist theory exist only in relation to each other and that relation turns upon the form of exploitation occurring in a given mode of production (Bottomore 1983: 183).

Tilly (1999: 87) pointed out that: “Without employing the full apparatus of Marxist theory, my [Tilly’s] analysis of exploitation draws directly on that idea of sectionally organized inequality”. However, what is common in Tilly’s notion of exploitation and that of Bottomore is that one group (elite) using the labour of another group (non-elite) to produce goods that is controlled by the dominant group to the disadvantage of the subordinate group.

The fundamental synergies to draw from all these are that exploitation has two opposing actors where one group unevenly benefits from the other. It is somewhat clear that Tilly brings in some Weberian philosophy into Marxist ideology which goes to enhance Marxist form of class analysis by including categorical inequality which is not systematically and explicitly talked about by Marx (Wright 2000: 465). To elucidate this claim we can see that exploitation is the main focus of Marx’s class theory just as we have it in Tilly’s categorical inequality. Both of them see exploitation as a relational issue where the exploiters by virtue of their control of valuable resources get the undue advantage of gaining from the “sweat” of the exploited. Tilly (1999) claims that categorical inequality emerges and thrives through exploitation and Marx also asserts that class categories come about for that same reason. As will be discussed in detail much later in the empirical chapters of this thesis, both notions of exploitation (Tilly & Marx) represent the happenings of the colonial past of some African countries where some social groups were used to harness the resources that were needed for nation building but never got a fair share of such recourse in terms of the provision of education to such groups.

2.4.3 Opportunity Hoarding

One of the mechanisms that complements exploitation to install or originate categorical inequality is opportunity hoarding. According to Charles Tilly, opportunity hoarding, “operates when members of a categorically bounded network acquire access to a resource that is valuable, renewable, subject to monopoly, supportive of network activities, and enhanced by the network’s *modus operandi*” (Tilly 1999: 10).

As earlier on mentioned, Tilly (1999) argues that it is the elites who are engaged in exploitation of the “weaker” ones whilst the non-elites (the American ethnic immigrant group) contribute to the installation of inequality by hoarding opportunities. Despite the fact that Tilly may not have meant that opportunity hoarding is done by only the non-elite, I argue that in other scenarios, the compartmentalisation of these two mechanisms does not hold in the sense that both the elite and non-elite stand the chance to engage in opportunity hoarding. Tilly (1999) may be right in claiming in his study that opportunity hoarding is done by non-elites, however other studies have posited that opportunity hoarding can also be carried out by the elites. In a study to explain the Durable Racial Divide in American Education, Pamela Barnhouse Walters has shown that the elite could equally be involved in opportunity hoarding in education. She reported that: “in the context of American education, racially separate and unequal education is a system in which privileged whites are able to fairly easily hoard the best educational opportunities for their own children and others like them” (Walters 2007: 15). In corroboration of that, Hanselman & Fiel (2016: 1077) contended that: “persistent school segregation may allow advantaged groups to hoard educational opportunities and consign minority students to lower-quality educational experiences”. I argue here that there are some subservient groups that will hardly get the opportunities which they can hoard. One cannot hoard anything that one barely has access to. You have to first get access to “a resource” as Tilly (1999: 10) alluded to, before you can talk of hoarding it. It should however be noted that Tilly’s opportunity hoarding is imbedded in relational terms and the elite do not relate with the non-elite in a way that gives them access to any meaningful resources so

as to hoard them. Thus, the non-elite are not largely in the position that gives them access to opportunities, which they may have to compete with the elite for and thus bring about opportunity hoarding in many cases. What could best happen in this situation is the non-elite hoarding limited opportunities from a fellow non-elite. This I will call “intra-non-elite group opportunity hoarding”.

Building on Charles Tilly’s concept of opportunity hoarding (but veering a bit from it), some scholars have sought to define opportunity hoarding as the practice whereby a dominant group (elite) has the power or authority over who gets some share of a particular resource (eg. Education). They regulate and share that resource in a way that prevents the out-group (non-elite) from getting full access to it (Walters 2007; Massey 2007; Anderson 2010; Hanselman & Fiel 2016). Going by this scholarly contribution to the conceptualisation of opportunity hoarding, Walters suggests that elite parents practice opportunity hoarding unknowingly by trying all they can to secure the so called good schools for their children and this invariably exclude other children from getting placements in those schools (Walters 2007). Pamela Barnhouse Walters however describes the ‘opportunity hoarding’ related activities of the non-elite as “opportunity prying” and asserts:

Alongside the politics of opportunity hoarding on the part of privileged parents we must put the politics of what I call *opportunity prying* on the part of poor minority parents: their attempts to do as much as they can, through whatever means they can, to secure greater educational opportunities for their own children. These in effect constitute efforts to pry loose some of the opportunities for their own children that the privileged typically hoard (Walters 2007: 18).

The idea of opportunity prying by the non-elite proffered by Pamela Barnhouse Walters is a new dimension that is related to Charles Tilly’s opportunity hoarding. Whereas Tilly contends that opportunity is hoarded by the non-elites (Tilly 1999: 98), Walters claims that the poor could indulge in opportunity prying (Walters 2007). Notwithstanding the fact that I consider both concepts to contribute to the

persistence of inequality, I agree alongside with Walters that the non-elite are not strategically placed such that they could have access to opportunities. As a result, they glean for the opportunities hoarded by the elite to get a better education for their children. Opportunity hoarding by the non-elites could be applicable in Tilly's setting but cannot be generalised in all situations. I posit here that the non-elite are most likely to indulge in *opportunity gleaning* other than opportunity hoarding. Thus, in the education sector, privileged parents 'grab' all the good opportunities for their children in terms of good schools, extra classes and experienced teachers. The less privileged parents are then left with the remnants of the good opportunities which they will have to strenuously search for, a condition which I term as opportunity gleaning. It will be revealed later in Chapter Five of this thesis that because of the poverty levels in northern Ghana, people mostly travel to the south in search for opportunities which can also be called *opportunity gleaning*.

2.4.4 Emulation

After categorical inequalities are installed by exploitation and opportunity hoarding, Tilly claims that one of the mechanisms that makes those categorical inequalities to last long is emulation. According to him, "emulation is the copying of established organizational models and/or the transplanting of existing social relations from one setting to another" (Tilly 1999: 10). In order to get a clear understanding of this mechanism, let us operationalise Emulation to be that which involves mimetic isomorphism. In other words, it is copying and introducing ideas and practices which bring about a change in a social institution. When there is Emulation in the process of durable inequalities, there could be copying and establishing norms and values that have stability across time, place and culture. Charles Tilly contends that the establishment of standards for "nationness" make the installation of models of categorical inequalities to occur where members of a nation are separated by the boundaries so produced by the process (Tilly 1999: 174). This type of nationness alluded to by Tilly is constructed through the introduction of education in Ghana: that is formal European-style of education was introduced by the British colonialists which Tilly (1999) will term emulation.

Focusing now on how Emulation occurs in education and in turn strengthens durable inequalities, Charles Tilly theorises that: “actors operate within frames of understanding constructed by previous interactions” (Tilly 1999: 20). He provides an explanation that Emulation operates through scripting (which also means modelling), and shared local knowledge (Tilly 1999). According to Tilly (1999: 53), “among the four basic mechanisms that generate durable inequality, emulation relies chiefly on scripting”. On the one hand, I argue that there is a lot of scripting in formal education because it is continually fashioned to meet the needs and aspirations of society (more so is the introduction of western education to Africa which hitherto had its own way of education). Thus, the introduction of Western style of education to Africa is the transposition and formation of a type of education which was hitherto not there. This can be seen as a form of emulation. On the other hand, there is shared knowledge in education because the teachers and students live in the same community which is the product of the nation state project and they all know what goes around. Accordingly, intense lived experiences are shared at the individual, classroom and at the community levels.

In order to relate this to the generation of inequality in education it is important to look at “organisational innovation” as pointed by Tilly (1999: 90). Organisational innovation in education can come in the form of structural policies which have the ability to change how rituals operate in terms of establishing, solving or lessening inequality in education. Sometimes these policies are copied from one setting to the other which I see emulation brought to play there. More so, as per the general curricula of the educational system of a nation, the school is seen to have a direct influence and compulsion in professional activity where students choose what they want to do and how they respond to what they are being taught; but then students with habitus which resembles the structural dispositions and values the school seek to legitimise have the inclination to certain ways of doing things through the process of “elective affinities” (Bourdieu et al. 1990: 198). Similarly, Michael Grenfell & David James report that the most endowed students have the habit as well as the behaviour and attitudes that help them grasp the teaching task by virtue of their social origin (Grenfell & James 1998). Likewise, Dorling argues that established views that the

elite hold function to make social inequalities to thrive in general and particularly on educational inequalities (Dorling 2010). All these instances cited fall in line with Charles Tilly's concept of emulation which he sees as the "copying and transplanting of social relations" Tilly (1999: 10). This can also be viewed as students having to carry their experiences from previous social interactions to their present school settings which gives them an urge over some other students.

2.4.5 Adaptation

The complementary mechanism that comes into play to make inequalities durable is adaptation. According to Charles Tilly, "adaptation is the elaboration of daily routines such as mutual aid, political influence, courtship, and information gathering on the basis of categorically unequal structures" (Tilly 1999: 174). What he puts forward is that people adjust their private behaviours and expectations to be in sync with social structures that are already in existence and when this happens over time, patterns of inequality are institutionalised (Tilly 1999).

When some inequality-producing practices are made a routine in education, there is the tendency of cementing educational inequality in the social system as Charles Tilly claims in his explanation of the complementary mechanism of adaptation. In the same vein, Sigal Alon posited that middle and high class parents do all that is within their means to make their children to perform well as they adapt vigorous and expensive methods such as getting private classes and teachers for their children (Alon 2009). I do consider that this kind of practice perpetuates the inequality if not exacerbate it. The routinisation (which Tilly calls adaptation) of the practice which gives more advantages to one particular segment or group of children will widen the inequality in the schools. He argued further that:

These adaptation strategies elevate privileged students' test achievements and, consequently, the group's average test scores. In turn, this leads to class-based polarization of resources, placing privileged students in a better starting position for admission to selective schools. (Alon 2009: 737).

The systematized mode of selection of students into high school has the potential of stratifying the system thereby bringing about educational inequality. Sigal Alon argued that the use of standardised test scores are precursors of stratification in high school as on the one hand, they stratify educational opportunities; and on the other hand, they are seen as legitimate means of placing student by merit. I will show later in this thesis that the situation of using test scores as a screening method of entry into high school is beset with equity ramifications in the sense that subordinate groups do have a lesser share of educational resources and are expected to compete favourably with their counterparts in the dominant groups with far better facilities. It is therefore equitable to vary the entry requirement to high school based on how endowed a school or the region from which the student is coming from. Meritocracy can work better only if the applicants to high school do have a level playing ground. Anything less than that puts the applicants from less endowed schools or regions in a precarious situation. This assertion is accentuated by a question asked by Bowen and colleagues:

But are the claims of equity really being met today by a policy that gives no positive weight to having come from a poor family—and having somehow overcome all of the attendant barriers in order to compete with a candidate from a very different background for a place in class? (Bowen et al. 2005: 225).

The foregoing discussing gives us the understanding that Charles Tilly's durable inequality is applicable to the educational systems in some countries all over the world. It can be said that the ways by which educational systems are organised in the process of state formation and nation building create categories that structure durable social inequalities.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The main theoretical debates in this chapter inform us as to how social inequalities can be formed. In investigating educational inequalities, the chapter has shown that the process of state-formation by the state apparatus can bring about uneven

distribution of resource which in the long run can make some sections of society poor. More especially, the colonial state-formation was that of the exploitation of some social groups in the state. It showed that the colonial project was that which created “imagined communities” that have existed till date. It has further shown that educational policy plays a key role in nation-building but also cautioned that if not properly implemented can bring about inequalities among social groups. Drawing on Charles Tilly’s durable inequalities, the chapter has elaborated how educational inequalities can become durable using Tilly’s (1999) mechanisms of durable inequalities as explanatory factors. Having placed the thesis within the relevant theoretical debates, the next section presents the research strategy and how the data was collected and analysed.

Chapter Three

3. Research Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the procedure that was used in studying the regional educational inequalities in Ghana. The chapter presents an overview of the research approach, the data collection methods and the strategies that were put in place to produce reliable and acceptable results. The thesis took a mixed-methods approach where in-depth-interviews and Q methods were the main tools used to collect the data. The steps followed in each of the methods are elaborately presented in this chapter for the purpose of replicability.

3.1 Research Approach

The approach of inquiry to this study is exploratory. Exploratory research is often carried out to explore the research questions which is aimed at providing a better understanding to a social problem (Singh 2008; Rubin & Babbie 2014). It does not intend to provide the conclusive evidence which is seeking to illuminate a social phenomenon but tries to provide meaning to a problem that is not well researched into (Singh 2008).

3.2 Data Collection Methods

The adoption of a mixed methods approach which blends both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods (Rubin & Babbie 2014; Creswell & Creswell 2018), gave me the flexibility to rely on four data collection methods. These were in-depth interviews, documentary analysis, observation and Q methods. Using a combination of data collection methods was a good option because some of the methods were used to validate each other. There was greater triangulation between the in-depth interviews and the Q method because some of the grey issues that came up during the Q method were clarified and validated when I was doing the in-depth interviews.

The data collection came in two parts where each part was seeking to answer some particular research questions. The thesis had the colonial historical part and the policy implementation part. In-depth interviews and Document analysis were used as the main data collection methods to gather data to answer research questions one to three while Q methods were used to get the views of the respondents in regard to the educational policy implementation and answer research questions four and five. The first field work which combined both in-depth interviews and Q-methods spanned from July to October 2016 whilst the second lasted from September to November 2018. The second field work took the form of follow-up in-depth interviews to fill data gaps and validate the findings from the first field work. Thus, in all, it took seven months to collect the needed data for this thesis.

3.2.1 Interviews

Interviewing is one of the commonly used data collection methods in qualitative research as well as in mixed methods. The fundamental role of interviews in a research is to get a better import of the social world in the perspective of the research participants in order to see and understand the world as they perceive it (Gordon 2016). As the participants could not be observed directly especially when the research questions sought to elicit some historical information, it was appropriate to use interviews as one of the main data collection methods in this study. The interviews allowed me to validate and triangulate some pieces of information that had already been gathered from secondary data for more clarification and authentication. This helped in enhancing and getting a better understanding of the role of colonialism in the regional inequality of education in Ghana.

The first attempt of the interview data collection was field entry where I sought to book appointments with the individual respondents who were no more in active service on a more personal note. I made phone calls and visits to book appointments with them. However, it was not straightforward dealing with the institutions that I had pencilled to take part in the study. Prior to my departure from Humboldt-Universität-zu Berlin, and anticipating respondents would like to know whom I was

and the purpose for which I was doing the research, I got a letter from my professor introducing me to whoever I may be meeting in the field. When I showed the letter to the formal institutions they were hesitant at first but compromised later when they got a permission from their immediate bosses. On the part of the headmasters/mistresses, I produced my introductory letter⁵ based on which the regional directors of education wrote letters introducing me to the various schools before I got access to them.

In all, 31 in-depth interviews were conducted comprising respondents with varied backgrounds and experiences as shown in Table 2. As it was not easy to identify respondents with the required data that was being sought (because it required people with the requisite historical knowledge), I relied on snowballing to find them. The researcher is sometimes allowed to suitably select a sample based on what he or she knows about the population and what the research aims to address (Rubin & Babbie 2014). Snowball sampling is the situation where “the researcher begins with one case and then, based on information about interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases and repeats the process again and again” (Neuman 2014: 13). Despite the fact that I identified some potential respondents in the literature review, they were not many to make an acceptable sample size for the study. The first participant of the study suggested some people which they also in turn suggested others and the ball rolled on. I did not just take proposals from people and worked with them without verification. I made background checks of anybody that was being proposed to make sure I was dealing with people with the right information that could answer the research questions. The interviews ended when I had no more referrals to potential interviewees from those interviewed earlier, hence a point of saturation had been reached.

In the second phase of the field work, after the Q methods were carried out, semi-structured interviews were used to elicit responses concerning the historical causes of educational inequality in Ghana. Each interview lasted from 45 minutes to 60 minutes. It was good that all the respondents were educated and spoke good English

⁵The introductory letter I got from my Professor in Humboldt-Universität-zu Berlin.

which did not need any translation. All the interviews were therefore tape-recorded and later on transcribed for the analysis.

Table 2: Study Participants and Data Collection Methods

Category	Status	Number	Sampling method	Data Collection Tool
Retired Educationists	Professor emeritus/Former university vice chancellor	1	Purposive/snowballing	Interview Guide
	Professor emeritus/Former Director General of education Service	1	Purposive/snowballing	Interview Guide
	Former director general of education	1	Purposive/snowballing	Interview Guide
	Former education directors	8	Purposive/snowballing	Interview Guide
	Former directors of education /Politicians	2	Purposive/snowballing	Interview Guide
Ghana Education Service Officers	Headmasters/Headmistresses	13	Purposive	Interview Guide
Staff of Civil Society Organisations	Project Coordinator: Northern Network for Education Development (NNED)	1	Purposive	Interview Guide
	Project coordinator (Oxfam IBIS)	1	Purposive	Interview Guide
Staff of the Scholarships Secretariat	Scheduled officers for the NSS	2	Purposive	Interview Guide
Others	Experienced Lawyer/policy beneficiary	1	Purposive	Interview Guide

Source: Author's Own

3.2.2 Document Analysis

A mixed methods approach to research offers the researcher the leverage to use many data collection instruments such as interviews, observations, videos, documents, drawings, diaries, memoirs, newspapers, biographies, historical documents, autobiographies and many others (Corbin & Strauss 2008). Document

analysis is almost indispensable in this type of research where there are a good number of historical documentations to be analysed. The method thus enriches as well as cross-checks whatever information that was gotten from the in-depth interviews. As John Scott pointed out, documentary investigation was the principal data collection technique of sociologists like Marx; when he made use of reports from factory inspectors, just as Weber and Durkheim employed religious tracks/pamphlets and official statistics of suicides respectively (Scott 1990).

In this study, I relied on documents such as books, parliamentary archival material, Newspapers, colonial reports, memoirs, letters and other on-line sources. The fundamentals of social science research is how trustworthy the evidence being used is (Scott 1990). During the document analysis, the main challenge was how to identify documents that were genuine and can be used in a scientific study like this. In surmounting this challenge, I used John Scott's four quality control criteria to sieve the documents for use. According to him, the four criteria to use in filtering the documents are "Authenticity, Credibility, Representativeness and Meaning"; where he argues that the quality of data from both documentary and non-documentary sources can be assessed by those criteria (Scott 1990: 19-35). Table 3 shows how I overcame challenges regarding authenticity and credibility in my document review process.

Table 3: Quality Control in Document Analysis

Criterion	Characteristics	Solution
Authenticity	The document should be genuine and of unquestionable origin.	I verified who the author was and whether he or she was an expert in the field. I checked the reliability of the source of the document. That is whether it was an original or a copy and devoid of errors.

Criterion	Characteristics	Solution
Credibility	The document should be free from error of distortion.	I used other secondary sources to corroborate and cross-check the Information
Representativeness	The document should be typical of its kind, and if not, it should show the extent of its untypicality.	I checked which field the document was coming from and which audience the author was targeting
Meaning	The document should be clear and comprehensible	I read the document on a couple of times to get a full grasp before using it.

Source : Adopted and modified from Scott (1990: 19-35)

3.3 Analysis of the Qualitative Data

Going by the steps of qualitative data analysis by Creswell & Creswell (2018), I started by transcribing and preparing the data after which I read the data over and over again to get the general ideas that the data had. After I had been abreast with the data I started assigning codes to them. From there came the generation of themes which gave a descriptive impression of the historical antecedence of the inequality of education in Ghana. I then used a narrative genre to convey the meanings of the major findings. It must be reported here that the analysis were enhanced by the information captured in my field notebook which was handled by a field assistant during the field work. Figure 2 presents a pictorial view of the data analysis process.

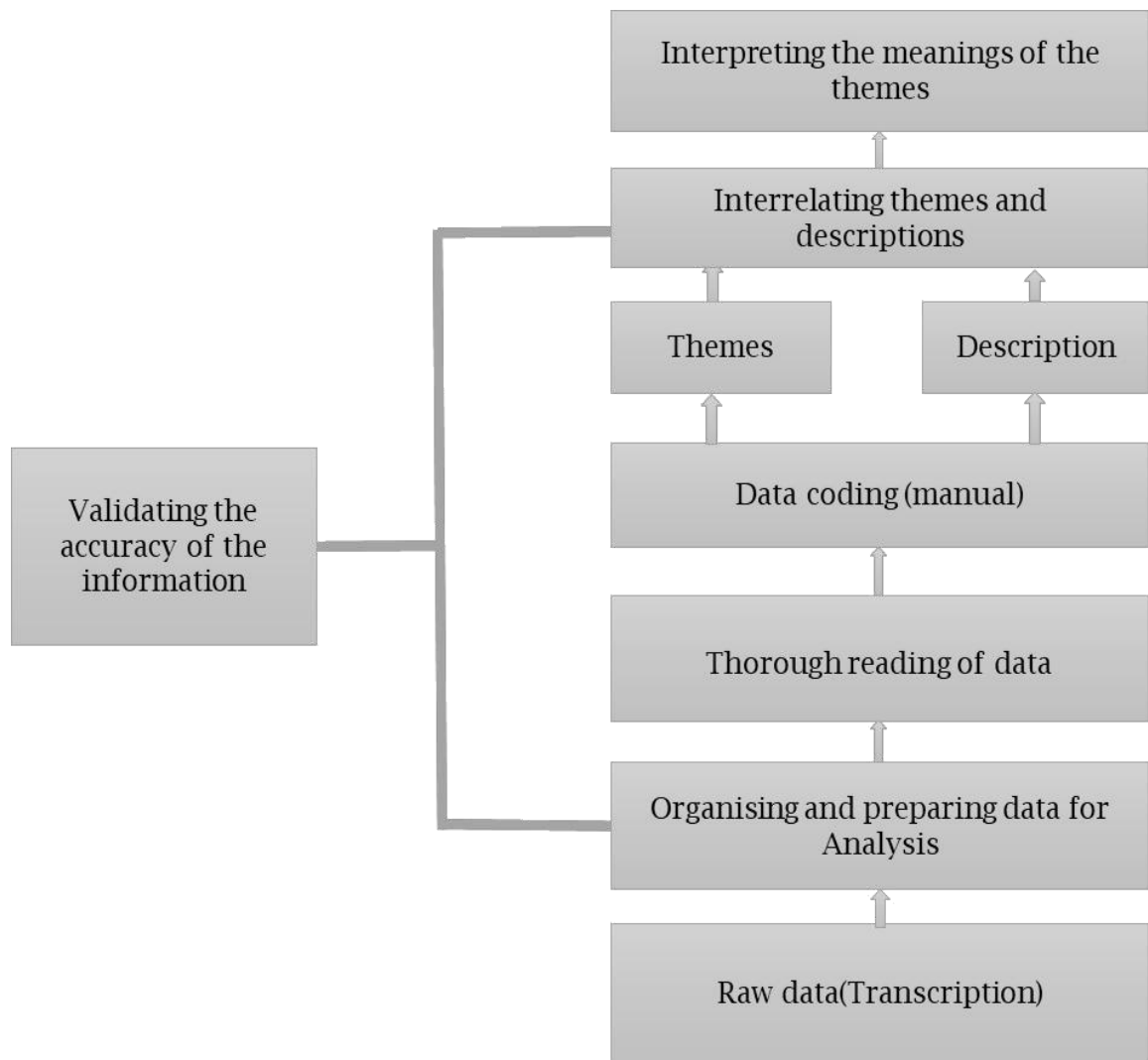


Figure 2: The Qualitative Data Analysis Process

Source: Adapted from Creswell & Creswell (2018: 269)

3.4 The Q Methodology Study

Q Methodology is a mixed-methodological approach that draws on the advantages of both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms which is geared towards bringing out the subjective views of participants in a study (Danielson 2009; Dziopa & Ahern 2011; Wright 2013; McKeown & Thomas 2013). This kind of mixed method affords the researcher a quantitative ability to explain the subjectivities of participants in a study (Brown 1993). It offers the researcher the possibility of grouping the convergence and divergence of groups of respondents according to

their shared feelings, viewpoints, perceptions and beliefs ((Donner 2001 ; Newman & Ramlo 2010).

Q methodology has some advantages that are arguably over and above the pure qualitative methodologies and that is one of the reasons that informed its choice for this study to address two research questions (questions 4 and 5) while the other questions are addressed by a purely qualitative methodology (interviews and document review). Davis & Michelle (2011) assert that:

It allows insight into audience subjectivities in a much richer and more holistic way than conventional surveys, while providing clearer structure, better replicability and a more rigorous analytical framework than purely qualitative approaches such as individual interviews, focus groups or ethnographic observations (Davis & Michelle 2011: 529).

In Q methodology, respondents are presented with a number of statements that are derived from varied sources (Literature, interviews, news items observation and so on) to rank order them in a Likert scale so as to portray the viewpoints that they individually hold on the subject matter that is under investigation. Q methodology involves a sequential process that is briefly described below:

1. The researcher begins with an extensive literature review and interviews on the topic in order to gather a number of statements called the *concourse*. These statements cover almost the entire spectrum of the public discourse about the subject matter being investigated.
2. A Q-set (selected statements) is then selected from the entire *concourse* gathered.
3. This Q-set is then administered to a set of participants called the P-set where they rank-order all the statements in a particular distribution which sometimes is a normal distribution or bell-shaped. The researcher then asks some probing questions to elicit the reasons why sorters have distributed the statement the way they did (this post-sorting interview will help later in the course of the interpretation).

4. The score sheets of the participant are then gathered and analysed with the aid of a special software designed for the purpose.

The reasons for choosing a Q methodological approach and the step-by-step procedure of its use in this study is discussed in detail in the ensuing sections.

3.4.1 Why the Use of Q methodology in this Thesis?

As I was reflecting on the research questions and the nature of data that were needed, a couple of methodologies came to mind. However, I settled on Q methodology as a tool for collecting data to answer two of the research questions. Notwithstanding the fact that there were other methods like in-depth interviews and the use of questionnaire surveys, I settled on Q methodology for the following reasons.

First, when the research participants talk about how a policy is faring, what they say about is a subjective experience with regard to how they lived the actual situation of the policy and because they are policy implementers, they perform the duties of the “street level bureaucrat” and thus “encounter instances of policy delivery” (Lipsky 2010: 3). Some of these people go through the daily struggles of the internal contradictions that the policy has and what they say is not just what happens but a lived experience of what they go through daily. The appropriateness of Q methodology is in line with the claim that Q Methodology is a sharp tool that the researcher uses to describe subjective viewpoints, experiences, and attitudes “about life as lived from the standpoint of the person living it” (Brown 2016: 561).

Second, another reason for using this method is that it allowed me to be able to easily categorise respondents that had like-minded viewpoints in the way they perceive the topic as well as make clear the divergence among viewpoints. The ability to categorise individual viewpoints by their similarity or otherwise is a unique feature Q Methodology possesses over other qualitative methods like interviews or Focus Group Discussion. As responses are put into factors, it becomes easier to get themes from the data. This thesis has thus used Q-methodology to demonstrate the potential value of envisaging and responding to challenges in the implementation

and evaluation of an educational policy that is meant to address regional inequalities of education among the people of Ghana.

Third, Q methodology allowed the participants to be seen as being “in charge” of the research process because it engaged them actively in the data collection where they reflected on their opinions, perspectives and beliefs. More importantly it also contributed to minimising my own influence as a researcher both *a priori* and *a posteriori* in both the research process and outcome. This is particularly important because ‘researcher bias’ has often been a major concern for qualitative researchers. The Q-methodology offered me the opportunity to meet the participants a couple of times in the process where I was able to clarify certain issues that were not very clear.

Fourth, the requirement for follow-up interviews in the methodology makes it a relatively richer method of data collection. This is because the data obtained from the Q-Set administered to the participants and the follow-up interviews complemented each other and generated detailed information that could not be obtained from only qualitative interviews. Besides, combining a Q-Methodology study with in-depth qualitative interviews served as a way to complement, triangulate and validate the responses given by the study participants. For example, some responses obtained from the in-depth interviews were used as statements in the Q-Sample for participants to rank. Following the ranking, follow-up interviews were again conducted with the participants to explain their rankings and views of these statements. This strategy of method triangulation provided a rich data base for the thesis which allowed for firm conclusions to be drawn.

3.4.2 Step-By-Step Procedure of Q Methodology

Concourse Development (Collection of Statements)

The concourse in Q methodology comprises the discussions, conversations or discourse about a particular subject area or topic (Brown 1993). Material from a wide spectrum of a particular topic is looked at so as to capture to a large extent the viewpoints espoused on a subject matter. According to Van Excel & de Graaf (2005:

4), “the gathered material represents existing opinions and arguments, things laypeople, politicians, representatives of organisations, professionals, scientists have to say about the topic”. Wright (2013: 154) describes a concourse as a “collection of statements that encompass all views about the subject under scrutiny”. In other words, the concourse is any available body of information that is gathered about a topic of interest. In this study, I began with a review of the literature on the Northern Scholarship Scheme so as to find out the discourse surrounding this area and the commentary therein. In doing this, pieces of information were sought from the internet, textbooks, newspaper publications and parliamentary records. A thorough reading of these sources was done and some statements were extracted to represent the opinions of the authors.

Another way by which the concourse was derived was to carry out interviews with some key stakeholders to eke out the needed statements that make up the concourse for the study. Ten (10) stakeholders were interviewed by virtue of their knowledge of the subject matter as well as the experience they had. In all, a concourse of fifty (50) statements were recorded to be sampled later to get the Q-set. Table 4 shows the sources of the statements that were sampled. Thus, I read newspaper articles, press releases, books and did some interviews. All these sources had information and opinions about the northern scholarship scheme where the statements were taken to form the concourse.

Table 4: Sources of Concourse (statements)

Source	Title	Summary
Newspaper article (20th February 2007)	British Colonial Legacy in Northern Ghana; The call for compensation	An article calling for a possible compensation/reparation to the northern part of Ghana by the British colonial Government for deliberately under developing that part of the country.
Press release (Jan 21, 2014)	Organization calls for review of Northern Scholarship	A press release proposing a review of the northern scholarship scheme so as to ameliorate the shortcomings of the policy.

Source	Title	Summary
Newspaper article (1st June 2005)	Free education for northerners: Should the government be paying for the boarding fees of all people of Northern descent or it should only be the needy?	The government should redirect this policy and target at all those who cannot afford to pay for their children's school fees other than only the northern part of Ghana.
Newspaper article (14th May 2014)	Free education in Northern Ghana is a sacred cow: no politician worth his/her salt will dare touch it with a ten-foot pole	This is a rejoinder to an article justifying why the northern part of Ghana is still backward in terms of education.
Newspaper article (5th May 2014)	Review and Re-Evaluate the Northern Region Free Education	In this article, the author tries to quote some statistics to prove that the north has come of age and that the scholarship scheme should be extended to other poor people in Ghana.
Book (2016)	"Events in my Life"	A beneficiary of the policy and a retired educationist recounts how the educational policy started.
Book (2015)	History of Education in Northern Ghana	A professor emeritus and a beneficiary of the policy chronicles how education started in northern Ghana and captures the scholarship scheme under review.
Interviews (2016)	The Northern Scholarship Scheme	Ten (10) key stakeholders were interviewed and some statements extracted to form part of the concourse.
Parliamentary record (28th June 1957)	Special Scholarship Scheme for the Northern Region	A heated parliamentary debate between some MPs from the north and the rest of the country as to whether the scheme should be extended to other parts of Ghana.

Source: Author's own

Sample Q-sorts

After having had the concourse, the next step was to get the Q-sample out of them. This is a subset of the concourses that are presented to the participants for ranking. According to (Brown 1980), the choice of the number that should be included in the Q-sample is crucial when a subset of the raw statements are to be presented to the participants. The fifty (50) statements were subjected to a review to come out with clarity and precision. Statements that were found to be redundant and not straightforward were removed from the list and this brought the number of statements to thirty-three (33) which formed the Q-sample.

Thus, I was guided by (Watts & Stenner 2012) in arriving at an acceptable Q-sample:

Taken together, the items must cover all the ground within the relevant conceptual space. Try to ensure that each individual item makes its own original contribution to the Q-set and that the items in their totality all sit neatly side by side without creating unsightly gaps or redundant overlaps (Watts & Stenner 2012: 58).

This was done to capture the diversity of opinions that are found in the various sources. Depending on the topic, a Q methodological study can take place with 20-50 statements (Donner 2001). Table 5 shows the Q-sample that was used to carry out this study.

Table 5: Statements that formed the Q-sample for the Thesis

No.	Statement
1	The Northern scholarship scheme has not reduced educational inequalities between the north and the south.
2	Northerners have come of age and can do without the scholarship scheme.
3	Delays in the release of funds affect contact hours and academic performance of students.
4	It is better to scrap the northern scholarship scheme in order to have a smooth flow of academic work.
5	The scheme should be targeted at the poor other than everybody in the north.
6	Some students are not so committed to their studies because they pay less as school fees.

No.	Statement
7	The policy is unfair because some northerners who can pay for their children's' education also get a free education.
8	The policy should be extended to all poor children in Ghana but not only those in the north.
9	I do foresee the abolishment of the northern scholarship scheme in the near future.
10	Northerners are not taking maximum advantage of the scheme to send their children to school.
11	The northern scholarship scheme had a bigger package in the past than now.
12	It is unfortunate that fee-paying students are also sent home when funds delay.
13	Students are sometimes served with substandard food when funds delay in coming.
14	Respective Governments do not have the political will to scrap the scholarship scheme.
15	The policy goal of bridging the inequality gap is not satisfactorily being met.
16	Some students from the south disguise themselves in order to benefit from the scheme
17	The undue delay of the grants is a way to prepare people's minds in order to Scrap the scheme.
18	When we try hard, we will be able to identify parents who can sponsor their children and bill them
19	Northerners are used to free things such that they will find it difficult to thrive if the scheme is scrapped.
20	The Northern scholarship scheme should be reviewed.
21	The Scheme is more a political strategy than a well thought out policy.
22	The Scheme is a burden to the government.
23	If the scheme is scrapped, the gap between the north and south will stand to widen again.
24	The scheme should be scrapped because most northerners don't do well at the WASSCE.
25	The delay in the grant is an attempt to keep the northerners backwards
26	Northerners should continue to benefit from the scheme because a significant number of them worked in the south to build Ghana.
27	The northern elite should have rejected Nkrumah's scheme because it was a political ploy.
28	The main goal of the scheme was to bridge the educational gap between the north and the south.
29	Food contractors benefit most from the delay of the feeding grants.
30	Poverty created the gap between the north and the south but not necessarily lack of interest in school going.

No.	Statement
31	We devise some strategies to cover time lost as a result of the school closing down because of delay in grants.
32	A good number of parents can pay because they have their children in for private basic schools
33	It is high time northern parents sat-up to pay for the secondary education of their children.

Source: Author's own

Selection of participants (P-set)

The next stage of the study was the selection of participants which is known in Q methodological lexicon as the P-set. The kind of sampling that is carried out here is not probabilistic as participants are purposively chosen because of the wealth of knowledge and the experience they garnered in the implementation process of the policy (Davis & Michelle 2011). I started by noting down authorities that I had come across in the literature who I contacted to seek their consent to be part of the study. After that, I then opted for the snowballing approach to identify more participants of the study where key stakeholders helped me to identify other participants that they deemed could be of immense help to the study at hand. My P-set consisted of 32 participants that were drawn from varied backgrounds such as retired educationists (6 participants), heads of second cycle institutions (22 participants), representatives of Civil Society Organisations (2 participants) and, Senior High School Students (2 participants). It must be pointed out that in the sample, heads of the Senior High schools were the majority (22) because they were in the forefront of the policy implementation. In doing Q methodological studies, the number of participants is not as essential as the perspectives that will be captured from individuals with the requisite expertise and information that is related to the topic (Watts & Stenner 2012; Simons 2013). According to McKeown & Thomas (2013), an emblematic Q methodological study should have participants ranging from 20 to 45 which informed the choice of 32 participants in this study.

Administering the Q Sort

The next stage of the Q methodological process was the Q-sorting. Participants are usually presented with the list of Q-sample (statements) written on pieces of cards

where they are to place them on a grid and record their placements of the cards on some score sheets provided by the researcher. However, in this study, participants were presented with the list of the Q-sample and the score sheets which were in a grid form to place the statement numbers on the grid just as they would have done in the case of the cards. Instructions were put at the end of the list of the statements as to how participants are to do the sorting⁶. This notwithstanding, I had to explain the procedure to every participant as well as refer them to the instructions that were attached to the list of statements.

Participants were, first of all, asked to group the statements into categories of three (Agree, Neutral & Disagree). They were then told to choose those they “strongly Agree” and those they “strongly disagree” and write the numbers of the score in the grid as shown in Figure 3. By doing this, the participants worked their way to the middle of the grid, which is neutral (see McKeown & Thomas 2013). When they completed this process, I then collected the score sheets from each participant and checked for their completeness after which I conducted follow-up interviews with the participants regarding how the statements were placed on the grid. Participants were asked to give reasons why they had placed some statements to the extreme ends of the grid (‘very strongly agree’ & ‘very strongly disagree’). The post sorting interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. These responses became very useful when I was doing the interpretation of the results.

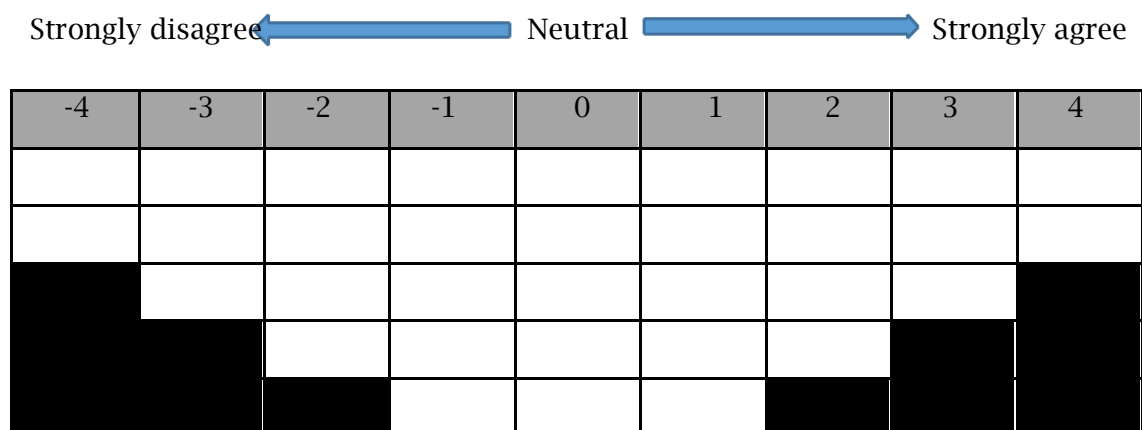


Figure 3: A Sample Grid for Q Sorting

Source: Field work

⁶See Appendix A

(Each cell of the grid should be filled with one statement from the sample of 33 statements)

3.5 Statistical Analysis (Factor Extraction, Rotation and Estimation)

In Q Methodology studies, by-person correlation and factor analysis are procedures used to arrive at the results for interpretation (Watts & Stenner 2005). In this study, I used a statistical package called PQMethod 2.11 programme developed by Schmolck (2014), to analyse the data. PQmethod is specially designed for Q-Methodological studies to compute correlations among the Q-sorts as well as by-person factor analysis (Watts & Stenner 2012). In order to compute correlations of the Q-sorts, all the statements on the scoresheets were entered in order of how they were sorted by the participants into the PQMethod programme. After all the data were entered, a command was issued for the PQMethod to compute the raw data and input the un-rotated correlation matrix. The correlation coefficients between Q-sorts were then calculated to establish common viewpoints that participants held. Similar Q-sorts were grouped into what are called factors in the statistical lexicon.

In this thesis, four factors were extracted from eight factors which usually are a default number of factors in PQmethod based on how heavy each participant had loaded onto them. What this means is that Q-sorts that are highly correlated by virtue of being related are the basis for factor groupings. The PQmethod has a component called flagging which is used to get sorters whose ratings are highly correlated (Newman & Ramlo 2010) and assigns the letter X to mark them. Table 6 shows how the participants loaded onto each of the factors with the letter X marking each of them.

Table 6: Factor Loadings with X marking Participants that define each Factor

Q-Sorts	Participants	Factors			
		1	2	3	4
1	SHUE 1	0.6170X	-0.0228	0.1396	0.0900
2	SHN 2	0.5983X	0.484	0.3313	-0.0756
3	SHUW 3	-0.0199	0.7206X	0.1297	-0.1071
4	SHN 4	0.0787	-0.3163	0.7759X	-0.0062
5	RE 5	0.3616	-0.1059	0.5151X	-0.1571
6	SHUW 6	0.6853X	0.5141	0.0098	0.0284
7	RE 7	0.1201	0.1854	0.1934	-0.6848X
8	RE 8	0.6962X	0.255	0.1366	0.1713
9	SHUW 9	0.02	0.7603X	0.0802	0.0456
10	SHUW 10	0.6059X	-0.0697	-0.1005	-0.357
11	SHUW 11	-0.0472	0.5778X	-0.1076	-0.0602
12	SHUW 12	0.4849	0.5670X	0.147	0.1245
13	SHUE 13	0.6945X	0.3082	0.314	0.0502
14	SHUE 14	0.6338X	0.3474	-0.003	0.1635
15	SHUE 15	0.4367	0.5482X	0.4005	-0.2261
16	RE 16	0.333	0.5345X	-0.0499	-0.1368
17	SHUE 17	0.2209	0.6206X	-0.1595	-0.22
18	SHUE 18	0.5885X	0.3415	0.1762	-0.1294
19	SHUE 19	0.6367X	0.3398	0.2395	0.2879
20	RE 20	0.3749	0.6515X	0.0905	0.2312
21	SHUE 21	0.1197	0.4773	0.4205	-0.2502
22	SS 22	0.5499X	0.4564	0.1609	-0.2084
23	SHUE 23	0.4019	0.1792	0.6059X	-0.0712
24	SHN 24	0.5343X	-0.1894	0.2312	0.1399
25	SHUE 25	0.4851	0.6531X	0.0547	0.1794

Q-Sorts	Participants	Factors			
		1	2	3	4
26	RE 26	0.1511	0.3022	0.4259	0.4963X
27	SO 27	0.383	-0.2365	0.0093	0.6359X
28	SO 28	0.7622X	0.0304	0.1328	-0.1404
29	SHN 29	0.4662	0.5072X	0.3057	-0.2413
30	SHN 30	0.0637	0.4423	0.6375X	0.2737
31	SHN 31	0.8016X	0.224	0.1513	0.049
32	SS 32	0.4414	0.4188	-0.3023	-0.026

Source: Field work

3.5.1 Criteria for Selection of Factors

In selecting which factors to use for the presentation and interpretation of results, there are some criteria that could be used, and one of these is the eigenvalue (Donner 2001). An eigenvalue is “a measure of the relative contribution of a factor to the explanation of the total variance in the correlation matrix” (Donner 2001: 31) and should be greater than one to qualify to be taken as a factor (Donner 2001; Watts & Stenner, 2005). However, Donner (2001:32) has cautioned researchers not to use only the eigenvalues in extracting factors as the more factors there are, the fragmented the data becomes. Guided by this, I added another criterion by Watts & Stenner (2012: 107) which states that, “accept those factors that have two or more significant factor loadings”. I therefore used the eigenvalues as well as the number of significant loadings as cut-off for selecting the factors.

Another thing I considered was the complete range of meaning and variability in the study which Watts & Stenner call study variance. According to them, “Common variance is a term used to refer to “the proportion of the meaning and variability in a Q sort or study that is held in common with, or by, the group” (Watts & Stenner 2012: 98). What this means is that variance tells how participants have a shared thinking in their Q-sorts and the greater the variance level of a factor the more it shows the factor analysis has been able to identify where the Q-sorts do share

something in common. Watts & Stenner (2012) avers that a sound total variance of all the factors of a study is one that is greater than 40%. However, the total variance of this study is 58%. Thus, per the rule of thumb regarding the soundness or otherwise of a study by its total factor variance, this study passes that test.

3.5.2 Factor Interpretation

As mentioned earlier, four factors were extracted to be used for the interpretation. The Principal component technique, as well as varimax rotation components of the PQmethod, were used for the factor analysis. These four factors were categorised into themes (labels) that portrayed the collective viewpoints that were held by each group of respondents. Factors 1, 2, 3 & 4 were respectively labelled “Intractable Educational Inequalities in the face of a Policy Intervention”, “Bringing Some Respite to Northern Ghana: How Well has the Policy done?”, “The Southern Student: A Victim of the Injustices of the Policy and “Going forward: A More Nationalist View”. This is similar to forming themes when coding interview data.

Factor arrays are one way by which the interpretation of the results is done in Q-methodological studies. In getting the factor arrays, all the confounded Q-sorts and those whose loadings were insignificant were left out. According to van Exel & de Graaf (2005: 9) factor arrays represent ‘*how a hypothetical respondent with a 100% loading on that factor would have ordered all their statements within the Q-set*’. When interpreting the results, I described the sorts that were at the extreme ends of the factor arrays as well as the highest and lowest *z-scores* of each factor. To enrich the description, I used the post-sorting comments that were made by participants which were tape-recorded and transcribed to explain the viewpoints of the various factors. The main participants were those who had heavy factor loadings.

3.6 Validity of the Research Findings

Validity of findings in research is an inbuilt process that is necessary that every researcher should adhere to. The philosophy underlying any research is that; it should be a trusted piece, have a utility value and can be dependent upon by the

researcher and other stakeholders of the study area (Zohrabi 2013). As Yin (2016: 88) pointed out, “a valid study is one that has properly interpreted its data, so that the conclusions accurately reflect and represent the real world that was studied.” This makes it imperative that the researcher and the participants should introduce validity checks from the beginning of the research to the end.

This study strengthened its internal validity through a number of techniques. Throughout this study, the methods of internal validity suggested by (Merriam 2001) which are: triangulation, member checks, long-term observation at research site, peer examination and participatory or collaborative modes of research were used. In adopting triangulation as a validity measure in this study, *data triangulation*, *theory triangulation*, *investigator triangulation* and *methodological triangulation* were used as suggested by Patton (Patton 2002: 247). Varied data collection tools such as in-depth interviews, observation, document analysis and Q methods were used which went a long way to cross check pieces of information that were gathered. When data was picked using one method, another method was used as a validity checker to make such data trustworthy. A couple of theories were used in the interpretation of the findings which provided the multi perspectives that enriched the narrative. As scholarship is not a sole enterprise, this study was subjected to a peer review such that I made the process available to follow researchers who gave constructive reviews. Notable among these were, a German ethnologist⁷ and my PhD group who made critical comments that put the study in the right direction. Methodologically, the study combined both qualitative and quantitative enquiries which strengthen the internal validity of it. What I simply did in this study was that I kept a “triangulating mind” throughout (Yin 2016: 87).

3.7 Reliability of the Research Process

In order for any research findings to pass the credibility test, the process has to be reliable. Research reliability refers to the level at which findings can be replicated

⁷ A German ethnologist (Franz Kröger) whose fieldwork has been on the Bulsa area, an ethnic group in north-eastern Ghana which he spent more than 30 years of study.

(Merriam 2001). Thus, if the study is done again in the future, will it arrive at the same results? In quantitative research it is highly possible to get similar results in a repeated study as compared to repeating a qualitative research where getting similar results is not straightforward (Merriam 2001). What this means is that it is utopian to seek to achieve hundred percent reliability in social science research as Merriam (2001: 221) asserts that: "Reliability is problematic in the social sciences simply because human behaviour is never static, nor is what many experience necessarily more reliable than what one person experiences".

Although social scientists face this challenge, it is important to strive as much as possible to achieve an appreciable level of reliability in their research. One of the tools used in this study to achieve a good level of reliability was "intercoder reliability". Marvasti (2004: 115) claims that "intercoder reliability" is the situation where a study is presented to another researcher to review the analysis and to comment on the conclusion. She went further to point out that: "Intercoder reliability is similar to triangulation, in that the use of multiple perspectives is expected to reduce the possibility of misreading the data". (Marvasti 2004: 115). Guided by this, I presented my work to a colleague to verify the veracity of my conclusion against the analysis that were done.

3.8 Generalisability of Research Findings

Generalisation is the act of drawing wider implications to a particular observed phenomenon which is a quality standard in quantitative research but done with caution in a qualitative research (Polit & Beck 2010). As this study is of mixed methods which is more qualitative than quantitative, the goal of the study was to make available the understanding of the findings in a certain context of human endeavour but not necessarily intend to achieve generalisability (Polit & Beck 2010). This is simply because the dynamics that occasioned this study may be different in other parts of the world.

However, one can unequivocally suggest that in most of the African countries that were colonised, the implications of the findings of this study can be extended to

such countries because they share similar stories of colonialism. It was made clear at the beginning of this thesis that most of the African countries that were colonised had the problem of uneven regional development due to favouritism and special treatment meted out to some groups of people. More so, most African countries have similar socio-economic situations as well social inequality dynamics.

3.9 Ethical Considerations of the Research

Ethical concerns in social science research is *sine qua non* to the production of a research report that has an acceptable level of integrity. What raises ethical concerns in social science research is that a lot of the work of the researcher is done without anybody “watching” which may give the researcher the leverage to misconduct himself/herself ethically (Israel & Hay 2006: 5). In doing social science research, there is the outmost need to protect the research participants, gain their trust, and eschew any form of misconduct and impropriety as well as deal with any ethical flaws that may come up in the process (Israel & Hay 2006). In all the steps in this study, I made sure everything was done with ethical considerations. The proceeding paragraphs speak to how the study was done ethically.

As mentioned earlier, I obtained an introductory letter from my professor which was very useful in the field. Participants did not want to accept me at first but upon seeing the introductory letter, they opened up to me. I provided all the needed information about myself to the participants and also all information about the nature of my research and made them aware that by the introductory letter that I was holding, the research was purely for academic purposes and encouraged them to feel free in providing any useful information about the topic. The initial hesitations of participants I guess could have been as a result of the works of one investigative Journalist in Ghana at that time that exposed some ills of the system which then made many people to be reserved in talking to someone they have not known for long. This was more so because the northern scholarship scheme is a political policy and respondents, especially the heads of second cycle institutions who were still in active service, dreaded being implicated and made to face the consequences of their utterances by their authorities. However, after showing them

an additional introductory letter from their various regional directors introducing me and my study objectives, I gained the trust of many heads and they willingly and openly participated in the research and provided me with the needed data.

Besides obtaining their informed consent to participate in the study, I ensured that the study participants were protected by making sure that their responses were anonymised. All identifying information were removed from the interview transcripts and non-identifying markers used in interview quotes. In this way, responses could not be traced to the participants. All information collected was also solely used for the intended purpose and not divulged to any third party.

In the next section of this thesis (chapter 4) I present the results of the study that were obtained from the qualitative data collection methods; the in-depth interviews and document analysis to cover themes related to the historical and colonial dimension to the inequality of education in Ghana.

Chapter Four

4. Regional Educational Inequality in Ghana in the Wake of Colonialism: The Story Behind the Relegation of the North to the Background

Just like the rest of some countries in Africa, Ghana has suffered the ravages of colonialism through segregation, exclusion, sectionalism and exploitation. This chapter depicts the reasons why the colonialists sought to provide less education in the Northern part of the country as well as their *modus operandi* in doing that. The focus is to trace some of the causes of the underdevelopment of education in the Northern part of Ghana, which can be attributed to the deliberate efforts of the colonialists to make education a scarce commodity in that part of the country. The chapter seeks to tell this story and to situate it in the tendencies of exploitation, exclusion and the principle of divide-and-rule strategy of the colonialists. It also highlights how the underdevelopment of education could have also been arguably said to be self-inflicted by the Northerners themselves. By way of putting the study in context, the chapter will begin with the North-South relationship in Ghana after which the colonial enterprise and the development of education in northern Ghana will follow.

4.1 The North-South Relationship before Colonialism and Beyond in Ghana

The relationship between the North and the South of Ghana has been characterised by suspicion, doubts and reservations. Before the invasion of the North by the Zabarima⁸ slave raiders in the 19th century (Holden 1965: 63) and colonisation by the British in 1897, “the whole of the area for nearly two centuries was virtually under Ashanti⁹ tutelage” (Saaka 1987: 5). This does not mean the North was administratively under the South but that the patronage the South enjoyed from them made the North to consider them as the “Black Imperialists” which made them

⁸The Zabarima referred to here were slave raiders who trace their roots to the present day Niger. They raided the Northern part of Ghana in the late 19th century and devastated the area.

⁹Ashantis are from a powerful kingdom in southern Ghana who fought a couple of wars with the then British Empire and its allies because the Ashantis made attempts to establish strongholds in the Gold Coast area which is present day Ghana.

to be exploited by the Ashantis in the South (Saaka 2001a: 140). Wilks (1961) reported that the exploitation of the North by the South came in the form that each centralised state¹⁰ of the North had to periodically pay tribute to Ashanti which could take the form of a number of slaves. Inasmuch as the Ashanti kingdom was dealing in slave trade, many of these slaves were sent as tributes from the North and this imposition was undoubtedly despised by the Northern states which the Southerners were “stereotyped as aggressors and oppressors, an image that happens to have persisted into the modern age” by the Northerners (Saaka 2001a: 140). This kind of relationship made the Northerners to seemingly have their reservation whenever they were dealing with the Southerners. After having realised that they were being exploited by the Ashantis, the Northerners resorted to dealing with their southern counterparts under a cloud of suspicion. This might have informed Saaka Yakubu to argue that:

[...] thus northern Suspicion of Ashanti domination in the days of old was carried over and partially was responsible for the North’s initial unwillingness to go into partnership with the South into independence. It was difficult for them to forget the clientelistic relationship they had always had with the South. (Saaka 1987: 5)

One would have expected the advent of the British and incorporation of the Northern Territories to have stemmed the tide of devastation and marginalisation but that regrettably did not happen. Instead of uniting the country by way of leading the developmental pursuit of northern Ghana for an evenly-developed country, the colonialists had their own agenda which brought about concretisation of the exploitation of the North. This was mainly done through the exclusion of northern Ghana on many fronts which education is one. The ensuing part of this chapter delves into issues regarding the exclusion of northerners in the area of education by the colonisers.

¹⁰The centralised states of the North then were: Gonja, Dagomba and the Wala states. (See Saaka (2001a)

4.2 The People of Northern Ghana: “Hewers of Wood and the Drawers of Water”

This subchapter depicts how the country was polarised with regard to who did what jobs within the dynamics of spatial differentiation. It tells how the attempts by the colonialists to make the Northern part of Ghana a cheap labour reservoir has succeeded in under educating the people of that area. Britain annexed the Northern territories of Ghana by means of treaties which they signed with the chiefs at the close of the 19th century (Brukum 1997). During the time of colonisation, the Southern part of Ghana was called the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti while the Northern part was administered and treated separately as a protectorate called the Northern Territories (NT) (Bening 2015). Northern Ghana from then on till now has not had its fair share of the national cake largely because the area did not have the needed resources that the colonialists were scouting for. As a result, the spatial disparities between the North and the South is not new but dates back from the colonial era (Ampofo 2017).

As Yakubu Saaka contends "[...] until as recently as 1957 (the year of Ghana's independence) the North was not considered by many colonial administrators and national political leaders as an integral part of the country" (Saaka 1987: 4). The colonialists thereby resorted to reducing the then northern territories to a cheap labour reservoir that they could use to extract the needed mineral resources that were naturally deposited in the Southern part of the country.

Moreover, the late arrival of the colonialists coupled with the fact that they had earlier encountered the notoriety of southern Ghana made them hesitate in supplying a meaningful education to the North (Brukum 1998). In the colonial epoch, there was high need for unskilled labour to work in areas of the newly found natural resources where technology was not yet developed to make such strenuous work less laborious. Upon meeting the people of northern Ghana at their aboriginal state, the colonialists found that they were strong and obedient such that they could be sent to the South as cheap labour to work in the extractive industry and the cocoa plantations (Brukum 1998). In order to keep them amiable, obedient and governable, the

colonialists decided to moderate the supply of education to them for the fear that if they got exposure through formal European type of education, they would revolt against the type of jobs they were doing at the time and also to ask for what was rightfully due them. This revelation was appropriately articulated by one of the study respondents:

I am not a historian but I know the little that affected the development of my country. They [colonialists] had first contact with the coastal area, and so they started putting up a few schools there. Now they moved from along the coast, rose up to Ashanti area [south] and started putting up schools, then the Whiteman [colonialist] started realising something. The North was then the protectorate, they started realising that the man-servant relationship between them and the South was getting missing. What I am saying precisely is that, they were losing absolute command over the people they were helping to develop in the South. So, when they moved to the Northern protectorate, they said “we would not repeat that mistake we did in the South”. To give the Northerners too the type of education we gave in the South, we would have been making a mistake. We would give them schools but they should be limited. They should be able to read and write only the numerals; add one to two so they can be our interpreters, that’s all we would give them for the mean time. Then we can still control them”. This was the strategy they used. (Interviewee 6 09.11.2018)

Likewise, when interviewees were asked during the in-depth interviews as to the reason why the colonialists might have decided to under educate the Northern part of Ghana, one of the participants had this to say:

...if they [colonialists] had enrolled them [Northerners] into schools, they knew that they could also become lawyers or whatever and definitely they would not get people to cut down the lumber; they would not also get people to go down into the mines [all in the

South]; and at that time, it was actually the Northerners who had the heart to do those kinds of jobs. Because you can imagine how even with the technology today, people still perish in the mines let alone those days. The Northerners entered the mines and a lot of our grandfathers were buried in the Obuasi gold mines. So that was one, major reason why they undereducated northerners. They didn't want them to go to school, if they go to school then the labour force will also dwindle, that was one aspect of it (Interviewee HM 5, 03.11.2018)

What is being put across by this respondent is that, the Northerners were seen as strong and courageous group of people who could take up the most dangerous adventures at the time. Gold mining then was a hazardous and largely a fatal job to do because there was not the required sophisticated technology that would have made it safer to work in that sector as it is being done today. Torto Eric reported that many recruits from the NT died through "tuberculosis and other pulmonary" diseases in Tarkwa mines at the beginning of 1918 (Torto 2013: 92). This could be attributed to harmful chemical use as well as blasting of rocks underground for precious minerals. The colonialists therefore realised that the best way to get the needed labour for the mining industry was to deny northern Ghana the required education such that they will be available. Thus, the Northerners could not read and write making them largely unemployable in many sectors except for doing menial jobs as well as jobs that required the physique that the Southerners were shying away from or did not want to do. As attested by Roger Thomas, it got to a point in time, where different sectors were competing for labourers from the North:

By mid-1908 a definite labour shortage was emerging in the Gold Coast Colony. Work began on the railway extension from Tarkwa to Prestea, and the contractors requested 300-400 labourers from the Northern Territories. At the same time, the Prestea Mine claimed that the railway contractors were poaching mine labour, and demanded what was in effect a monopoly of labour drawn

from the mining area itself. Ideally, it was suggested the railway should draw all its labour from the Northern Territories. The mines were denied their monopoly, and they felt obliged to ask for 1,000 labourers from the Northern Territories. In addition, the railway contractors requested 300 men to construct the new Accra-Kumasi line (Roger 1973: 82).

This narrative falls in tandem with Charles Tilly's notions of exploitation as well as opportunity hoarding. To begin with, there was exploitation in the sense that despite the fact that northerners were sent to work in an area that brought a lot of economic benefits to the Gold Coast, they did not enjoy an equitable share of the wealth they toiled for. Tilly (1999 :10) operationalises exploitation to occur "when powerful, connected people command resources from which they draw significantly increased returns by coordinating the efforts of outsiders whom they exclude from the full value added by that effort".

Positing this in Tilly (1999) notion of exploitation as a principal mechanism which installs categorical inequality, the colonialists used the efforts of the Northerners to harness the much needed resources for which they were denied a fair or equitable share of national development. Similarly, this scenario ties in well with Tom Bottomor's impression of exploitation when he claims that "exploitation occurs when one section of the population produces a surplus whose use is controlled by another section"(Bottomore 1983: 183).

Besides, validating Tilly's assertion of exploitation as a mechanism for installing inequality, it could also be argued that the development strategy of the colonialists resulted in opportunities being hoarded because employment was discriminatory as certain kinds of jobs were predominantly reserved for some people (southerners). Tilly elaborates what opportunity hoarding is:

When members of a categorically bounded network acquire access to a resource that is valuable, renewable, subject to monopoly, supportive of network activities, and enhanced by the network's modus operandi, network members regularly hoard their access

to the resource, creating beliefs and practices that sustain their control. As in exploitation, a boundary separates beneficiaries from others, while unequal relations across the boundary connect them (Tilly 1999: 91).

However, unlike in Tilly's case where opportunities were usually hoarded by the non-elites, this thesis shows a contrast, where the results point to opportunity hoarding being done by the elites.

What seemingly might have further worsened the plight of the North during the colonial era was that the British treated the Southerners better because they thought they were more "civilised" than the Northerners to the extent that the Southerners were paid better and also drank whisky in the "presence of the whites" (Saaka 2001b: 141). This is because the Southerners were the first people to come into contact with the Whites (British formal dominion) before they moved to the Northern part of the Gold Coast by 1902 (Plange 2007). They were for that matter used to the whites for long before the Northerners got in touch with them. One of the participants corroborated that:

Certainly, because at that time the Ashantis [The major tribe in the South], the British and the Fantes [another tribe in the South] were in battle because they had seen the white man several years ahead of us [Northerners] and the first people who approached them didn't come to pick them as slaves, they came as traders. So there was a kind of cordial relationship between them. So they had known the Whiteman and knew what the Whiteman was capable of doing and what he the Blackman was capable of doing, you see it? (Interviewee HM 5, 03.11.2018).

A scenario like this according Zerubavel (1993), draws secured boundaries among people which in the end gives them collective identities which makes them to be considered the "others" who are not part of "us" and possibly affect the mode of sharing resources. As the Northerners were seen as not so important and "unenlightened", they had no strong voice to demand for equity and justice for

themselves thereby forming a certain critical mass of identity which leaves them at a peripheral position of society. Hence, the powers that be did not see the urgency to provide them with any meaningful education.

Again, in his book titled: *Routes of Remembrance; Refashioning the Slave trade in Ghana* by Holsey Bayo, he recounted a conversation he had with one Kwabena, a native of Elmina¹¹ which might have been suggestive of the reason why the then Gold Coasters would have been looking down upon the Northerners and treating them as inferior people:

Now we were on the coast so we were the first point of contact when the Europeans came. As a result, we also became more enlightened than those in the interior [north of the coast]. In fact, the first education in this country was in Elmina, Cape Coast, and other towns along the coast. So we became the elitest [sic] group. So they, so the people in the interior gave us due respect as people who were friends of the Europeans, who were educated. So just as the Europeans were more civilized than people in this country generally, people in Elmina were more civilized than people in the interior. So that gives us a sense of pride. So I would say we are proud in the sense that we saw the light earlier than those in the interior (Holsey 2008: 83).

From the onset, all white colour and semiskilled jobs were reserved for the Southerners while the menial jobs were taken by the Northerners (Saaka 2001b). Even the places that were to be occupied by southerners in the North had difficulty in the sense that the Southerners did not want to live in the North because they thought living conditions were harsh. Kimble reports about one officer who was posted to Bolgatanga (a town in the Northern part of Ghana) and the person

¹¹ Elmina was the first European settlement in West Africa. On 19 January 1482, a Portuguese fleet of ships under the command of Captain Don Diego d'Azambuja landed at Elmina (a small town on the Gold Coast, what is now Ghana). See Holsey (2011).

remarked that: “the houses at Bolgatanga are holes suitable only for the natives and goats and not people from the South” (Kimble 1963: 34).

This situation affected the development of education in the North in that because the North did not have many educated people to serve as teachers in the few schools that were being introduced, teachers from the South had to be sent there to teach. Notwithstanding the fact that teachers from the South found it unsuitable to live and work in the North, they demanded for a special allowance as a compensation for their stay in the North which their counterparts in the South did not get (Saaka 1987). One could see this as raising social exclusion concerns once one side of the regional divide was treated like the dregs of society who were not fit to get any meaningful education provided by the colonialists and equally despised by the Southerners but just meant to serve as the ‘excavation machines’ to haul out the natural resources embedded in the belly of the earth.

Despite the fact that the Northerners were discriminated upon and treated unfairly, the colonialists needed them badly for recruitment into the army as well as the police service. Again, this kind of work was life-threatening (Roger 1973), that one will hardly find most southerners doing it. It can be argued that the recruitment of young and abled bodies from northern Ghana was a contributory factor in the retardation of development especially of education in that part of the country (Torto 2013). By 1917, close to 90% of the Gold Coast Regiment were people of northern extraction (Torto 2013) and all these soldiers had no meaningful education except for them to be able to understand and take military instructions. This assertion is supported by the annual Gold Coast report for 1926/27:

The escort Police are illiterate and are mainly natives of the Northern Territories. Among their number are many old soldiers of the Gold Coast Regiment and they are generally of a more military type than the educated class. They are available for all duties not requiring reading and writing and are specifically useful on escort duties, guards, patrols and the like. In the event

of any unusual disturbance escort police are employed to cope with it (cited in Torto 2013: 87).

It is interesting to note that one of the participants corroborated this report as he sought to explain how recruitment of northerners into the security forces had a toll on education in that geographical area:

The other aspect you know most of the war veterans in the First and Second World Wars were taken from the North here and definitely they could only give instructions to somebody who understood the language [language of the colonialists], so they [colonialists] just came and “harvested” our people raw like that and it was during the training to go and fight in the war that they gave them some kind of instructional education as to what to do when they get to the battle field and that was all that they needed. So that education was not for our people to develop. The airstrip that you see here in Wa [a city in the North], my own father was one of the people who helped in the construction of the airfield and he just died in 2012. They gave you a portion and you compacted [hitting the ground to compact it] it. Then there was a testing officer among your own kind whom they gave authority and he was very strong. He took a very big rock and wherever you compacted he would come and throw the rock there to test how compact the work was, so if there was a scratch it meant you hadn’t done your work well, it meant you had to go back and redo it. Because they had to do that for the aircraft to fly all the way from Accra [capital city] to this place to pick our people for the world war; the First World War not even the Second World War. So you see instead of these people being in school in order to become better people in future, they were sent to fight in the Wars (Interviewee HM 5 03.11.2018).

This account which is purported to have partly caused the underdevelopment of education could be widely held by the people. However, on the flip side of the coin, one could argue that the arrangement of sending northern people into the army could have served as an “eye-opener” for them. As the people went down south to serve in the army, they raised children that would have been exposed to the kind of good education that those that were in the North would not have gotten. When you take a look at some of the early educated elite that were in the North, many were children of people who worked in the South such as children of retired soldiers and police officers and these people can easily be countered. I argue here that despite the fact that at a point in time some northerners were forcefully recruited into the Gold Coast army, it was a blessing in disguise for those who served there. It is logical to reason that the Northern soldiers having gotten the exposure in the South would have realised the importance of education and would not prevent their children from going to school like their “unenlightened” counterparts in the North who did the opposite at the time.

Also, many people from the North migrated to the South because of the geographical differences between the two spatial units. The Southern part of Ghana is largely forested with maximum rainfall while the North lies within the Sahel savannah region that receives erratic rainfalls which do not appropriately support the cultivation of crops. Thus, farmers in the Northern part of Ghana have a single farming season whilst their southern counterparts farm throughout the year. As a result, some people of the North who are sometimes faced with famine, travel to the South to work on their cocoa plantations when they were in the off-farming season. As captured in Plange (1979), Elliot Bergs pointed out that:

[...] In the Savannah zones, the relatively densely populated areas, men are under-employed during the dry season. In the forest and coastal zones where conditions are favourable to the growth of export crops, suitable land is abundant and people are relatively scarce. At the same time, climatic zones in West Africa are so ordered that the slack season in the Savannah zone is the busy season along the Southern coast. Thus there is a seasonal

dovetailing; the period of inactivity in the Savannah regions correspond to the time of peak agricultural demands in the cocoa and coffee regions of the forest zones (Plange 1979: 11).

Even till date, this kind of migration is happening which is largely precipitated by the imbalance of the natural resource endowments of the two divides coupled with the fact that the South is more urbanised and offers comparatively more opportunities than the North. As a result of poverty and the exploits for greener pastures, some people from the North periodically drift to the South which potentially affects their ability to be in school. These are mostly young people who drop out of school to travel to the South. Thus, when people go to the South to better their lot, they no longer avail themselves to be educated which puts them in the vicious cycle of poverty and deprivation.

4.3 Minimal Education for Day to Day Communication with Northerners

One important reason for the educational impoverishment of the North and the general developmental imbalance between the North and the South of Ghana has been the inequitable geographical distribution of resources in the then Gold Coast. E. J. P. Brown who was then one of the principal nationalists, advocated for the retrenchment of expenditure from the North because he considered it as a financial drain to the country (Saaka 2001b). As cited in Kimble, a colonial Governor is reported to have asserted that:

The county [Northern Territories] as far as is known is destitute of mineral wealth, it is destitute of valuable timbers, and does not produce rubber or kola nuts or indeed any product of trade value [...] I therefore cannot too strongly urge the employment of all available resources of the Government upon the development of the country south of Kintampo. [...] I would not at present spend upon the Northern Territories –upon in fact the hinterland of the Colony- a single penny more than is absolutely necessary for their suitable

administration and the encouragement of the transit trade (Kimble 1963: 533-4).

What this stood to reason was that, it was not in the interest of the colonialists to bring development to the Northern part of the country. The Governor was only ready to spend resources on the North to only the extent of administratively managing that regional unit of the country. Anything more than the day-to-day administrative functioning of the North was not encouraged. Kimble recounted that the “Penny-wise” expenditure continued for many years and in 1912, Governor James, Jamieson Thorburn is reported to have said: “until the colony and Ashanti have been thoroughly opened and developed, the NT [northern territories] must be content to await their turn” (Kimble 1963: 534). This argument apparently has been corroborated by Songsore et al. (2001) in their assertion that:

Soon after the colonial incorporation of the then Northern Territories into the Gold coast as a protectorate, a clear policy of interregional division of labour was placed on the agenda. The territory, through the institution of forced labour and exclusion of the area from colonial development initiative became a “Bantustan” for the development of the export economy of southern Ghana...” (Songsore et al. 2001: 209)

It could therefore be argued that the colonialists came to Africa in a capitalist posture, and upon realising that the North had nothing that they were interested in, there was absolutely no justification for them to spend so much on that area.

Whereas the missionaries were restricted in the provision of education in the North, they had unfettered access to the South by which they went ahead in building schools in that area (Brukum 1998). Torto, Eric Obodai also reported that the colonialists restricted education in the Northern territories through the use of limited curriculum as compared to their counterparts in the South (Torto 2013). He contended that the parallel curriculum that was being run in the NT was just geared towards basic vocational training such as mat-making, raffia-making, rope making

and carpentry; whilst that of the South which was more elitist was made up of speaking and writing in English, arithmetic, duties and rights of citizen and so on (Torto 2013). It can be argued here then that the parallel curricular were discriminatory and meant to produce two different sets of manpower with geographical or spatial differentiation. On the one hand, it set out to produce an elite society in the South and on the other hand to get the Northerners trained for the jobs that arguably did not pay well. In the same vein, one of the participants I interviewed pointed out that:

The colonial government per say when they came up north here, their target was not for us to get any useful education that will help the people but education that will benefit they the colonialists but not education that will benefit us. [...] certainly useful education is education which will prepare you in life to become independent, to actually understand who you are, how you are going to go about your future but the kind of education they were giving us when they came up north here wasn't that type of education. If the white man took you as a cook, he only wanted you to understand how to cook meals and he could not communicate to you in your local language, he rather expected you to learn his language. (Interviewee HM 5 03.11.2018)

Bening (2015), reported that in 1924, a deputy director of education, R. F. Honter proposed that a majority of the schools on the NT should be converted to trade schools because artisanal and practical trade had prospect in that area. This was what R. F. Honter had to say:

The pursuit of the Northern territories people are mainly agriculture and pastoral. Their need is not a high academic standard but enough English education to carry on business and a practical acquaintance with such trades as will fit them to be useful members of the community. So far as I am aware, the majority of the Northern Territories communities are self-sufficing. There is, of course a certain amount of trade and the

prospect in future of big business. In the end, however, the problem is the training of useful and law-abiding citizens. (cited in Bening 2015: 111)

By this statement, one is right to argue that the underdevelopment of education in the Northern Territories was as result of the denial of the right type of education by the colonialists. It shows that this was not the type of education that could help in the emancipation of the North from poverty and low levels of education. As it was held by some of the participants, the NT needed a holistic education that could develop both body and mind but this type of education was largely skewed towards the development of psychomotor skills. It can thus be concluded that the colonialists had a deliberate policy which was meant to give the Northern part of the country a minimal education. I argue in line with others that this kind of attitude made the colonialists to appear as though all they were interested was to amass the resources of the place they colonised than the true development of their colonies (Mohan 2011; Vu 2010). They used education as a tool to be able to communicate with the indigenes who before then understood and spoke only their local languages. More so, the colonialists did not find anything of much interest in the North aside their cheap labour. One of the respondents had this to say with regard to the reason why the colonialists did not want to give the North good education:

We had nothing to give them, absolutely nothing! What was in the North that they wanted? It was only vast land they were acquiring. In fact, the North was completely poor. They weren't interested in our shea nuts. In northern Nigeria, they were interested in things like the groundnut [Peanuts] and other things but here we didn't produce them in mass quantities like the Nigerians and other countries. So I feel because we had nothing to offer them. For example, if we had gold they would have come here to develop our place. We didn't have anything to offer them. And even you see during the colonial rule when they were collecting this their "lampo" tax, it was the chiefs that were tasked

to collect the tax, so actually you see that the colonial government didn't help us in anyway. (HM 4, 2.11.2018)

The scarcity of schools in the North by then could have also played a role in the lower numbers of children going to school. As of 1919, Kemble reported the distribution of schools as follows: colony 186, Ashanti 23, Northern Territories 4 against a population distribution of 1,396,000, 448,000, 694,000 respectively (Kemble 1963). The few schools in the North were far apart making access problematic. Children had to cover long distances mostly on foot to the school. This made parents hesitate in sending their children to school:

During the pre-independence era, the schools were not many and they were located at distant places, so you can imagine somebody from Sandema [North East] sending his/her child to Zuarungo [North East] here. The parents would not be comfortable, so that distance was so far. But if they were going and coming back home, it could have been better but the middle schools were boarding, just like Sandema boarding, Zuarunongo boarding, then you have Bawku boarding, those were the schools. Before even the Bawku boarding and Sandema boarding, you had Gambaga or was it Nalerigu boarding. I used to go there [...] So you can imagine that you are at home, and you know the attachment of women or parents to their children. That child of mine is at Bawku, you don't know what is happening. There is no information that you get. (RHM 4, 2.10.2018).

Despite the fact that there were few schools in the Northern Territories, the narrative of this respondent is debatable. It can be argued that inadequate supply of schools is not exclusively the reason why children did not go to school as in some places where the schools were closer to the people, the attendance was not also encouraging but that the strong and powerful in society rather prevented their children from attending school in the early days of the introduction of education to

the North. The trend however changed when the people began to realise the value of formal education which I will deal with later in this thesis.

There was reportedly a canker known as “the Southern virus” which was much dreaded by the colonialists, that made them try as much as possible to isolate the Northern elite from people of the South (Brukum 1998). Saaka has reported that the British claimed the Southern part of the country had become insolent thereby making them ungovernable because they had a new exposure through western education and for that matter they tried to keep the Northerners away from the Southerners (Saaka 2001b). As a result, in order to prevent them from being invested with the so called “canker,” the few Northern students who were in Achimota (a first-class secondary school then in the South) were not allowed to mingle with people in Accra (the capital city in the South) when school was closed for the day and that they were put in the next available means of transport to the North when school was done for the term (Brukum 1997).

As Saaka also pointed out, “except those who drifted southwards to supply labour needs, all other northern youth who wanted to go to the South had first to seek permission from their district Commissioners” (Saaka 1987: 8). This was because the colonialists were suspicious that the school children at the time could be sensitised when they travel to the South often and will demand for self-government then (Saaka 1987). It was palpably a divide-and-rule scenario which Kimble described that: “[...] the Northern people remained physically and psychologically remote; they were in the Gold coast and yet not of it” (Kimble 1963: 533). The justification of this kind of isolationism could have been tenable on the part of the British given their main aim of colonialism; but seriously could have been one reason that exacerbated the backwardness of the Northern part of the county. To put it in direct terms, the country was regionally and literally put into ‘silos’ for want of their aim of making the Northerners amenable to them. A respondent narrated:

When the Tamale [the then capital of the Northern Territories] school was opened, the middle school, you were not allowed to go down south, you a student, whether your parents were there

or not. You were not allowed to go there because if you went there you would learn some vices that weren't in the North. In fact, one of the last people died a month ago; one Henry Seidu. He went to Kintampo [a town in the South] and when he came back they sacked [expelled] him from school because he went down south. They didn't want any northerner to get that influence from the South so this was one of the impediments that they put in place. (RHE 4, 2.10.2018)

At the time of my field work, I narrowly missed the said Mr Henry Seidu who was purported to have incurred the wrath of the colonialists because he died a month earlier before the beginning of my study. However, the above respondent being a retired educationist, was almost in Mr Henry Seidu's cohort in school and lived with him before he died. So I got a second hand information from him. The vices that he claimed were not in the North were the agitations that were in the South as a result of the exposure they got from formal-classroom education. Also, Brukum reports that seemingly, the agitations started in the North when one Yakubu Tali who was trained as a teacher in the South came back and was opposed to the indirect rule (governance system which the British ruled through the chiefs) and also criticised the system of education in the North which made the colonialists consider him a disruptive element and a threat to their administration (Brukum 1998). It is therefore imperative to note that this is a clear manifestation of boundary work where it can be claimed that "social boundaries produce categories, racial and ethnic group positioning"(Lamont & Molnár 2002: 167). Again, it makes the north "an imagined community" as Anderson (2006: 4) puts it.

4.4 Traditional Value System and the Fear of the Unknown: The Bane of Educating the NT in Colonial Times

It is an irony to note that despite the fact that formal European education was introduced in the Northern Territories in the beginning of the 20th century, the people of the North were unwilling to send their children to school. This was as a result of varied reasons. This is not because they deliberately did not want to

embrace the nascent formal European type of education but that they held a value system that was different from their colonisers. A child was mostly socialised to take up adult roles by watching and learning what the father was doing. As captured by Mosweunyane (2013: 52), “the elders were teachers in the African settings such as in the training of regiments for mastery of survival skills.” It is therefore a common thing to see a child growing up to take after his father or her mother’s trade. Thus, if one’s father was a local builder, there was the most possibility that such a child was growing to become a builder under the tutelage of his/her father, uncle or aunty. It can be said therefore that the mode of transmittal of knowledge to the young ones was that, a child should take up what the father was doing but not to be sent away to be educated by some people they were not familiar with.

Slavery predated the advent of formal schooling and the people were suspicious of strangers because they were devastated by the slave raiders as very strong men and women of their folks were taken away into slavery and never returned. In response to that, they began to hold their reservations when dealing with the “outsider” (one that is not of their own kind). As Brukum (1997: 23) puts it, “Life was therefore uncertain, the people were suspicious of all strangers. “This is related to the claim by Tilly (1999) that the relationality of categories bring about boundaries among people which paves way for exclusion. I asked one of the interviewees the reason why it is reported that the Northerners did not want to send their children to school and this was his response:

[...] And when the slavery started actually, we all know it didn’t start on commercial basis, but it started as a kind of domestic punishment for the Northerners and part of the Southern sector, where if a particular person was a “misfit” in the society, they just try to do away with him. In some cases, some of these people if they got the hint that this was the case, they run to the Southern sector until actual commercial slavery began and our people started selling slaves. Well, it was not selling out as such but we can also term it that way, it was some kind of barter trade where

they sold out some of our indigenes just for wax prints, just for ammunitions, and all sort of things. So when it happened that way, those who bought the slaves realised that our people were strong enough to work in these plantations and that gave way for commercial slavery to start. Whilst mission schools had started in the Southern sector they were not in the Northern sector, so they were pushing our people down there to work in the plantations. They only came to realise that they could get more of us through the local indigenes and that brought about some kind of education to the North here, so that they could use some of our people to interpret the Whiteman's language. That was how better people who had already moved to the South out of one or two criminal issues they educated them and then brought them along with them when they visited the North here so that they could get more people to help them in their agenda.(Interviewee HM 5, 03.10.2018)

The exploits of the slave raids has had a devastating effect on northern Ghana. According to Johnson (1986), Salaga (a town in northern Ghana) was a big market where they traded slaves. Many places especially in the North were raided and ravaged when slaves were being captured and this could have had a toll on education in the north. The former slave camp in Salaga has become a tourist attraction (though, long after the abolishment of slave trade) in northern Ghana.

As a result of fear and suspicion instilled in the people through slave raid, the people were hesitant in allowing their children to go to school. The ravages of the slave raids would have still been fresh on their memories thereby making them unwilling to let their children go to school. Schramm Katharina reported that:

[...] There was also some awareness of the transatlantic trade routes among local people, as the first Catholic missionaries noted when they were trying to recruit children for their school: "the people don't want to give their children. Mothers fear. They fear

school is only a trap. The whites will take the children to the coast.
(cited in Schramm 2011: 102).

As one way of stemming the tide, the colonialists tasked the chiefs from the Northern Territories to produce children from their areas of jurisdiction for enrolment into the schools that were just introduced. However, most times the chiefs did not present their own children as they were overprotective of them. What the chiefs did was to present orphans or children they did not like. Whereas these “unliked” children were those that were considered notorious in the community which might have caused some disaffection for them, the orphans were children who had lost their parents especially their mothers who provided socioeconomic and emotional needs of their children. They simply thought the school was a place to punish such children. This was shared by one of the participants in that regard:

They [children] were not treated kindly when they were taken away because they came here and saw how we ourselves treated our children, so if they took them away and give them instructions and they [children] did the wrong thing they were given severe beatings and even at a point some of them lost their lives and they never came back but even nobody cared because they were people who nobody cared about them [orphans]. (HM 6, 03.10.2018)

Northern chiefs mostly practice (even at present) polygyny where they marry many women at the same time; for that matter they raised a lot of children from these women. However, every wife of the chief will make sure it was not her child that was given away to school to be educated because children had to walk long distances to school through the then tick bushes that opened them to wild and predatory animals. They considered sending their children to school as a dangerous thing to do. Thus, the women “fought” and lobbied their husbands (chiefs) to make sure that their beloved children were never given away to school because they considered it as a way of molesting them as well as fearing to lose them.

However, Roger Thomas claims that the reluctance of the Northern Territories in sending the children to school was more than just the fear of the unknown and that

it was largely because schools were very few and sparsely located which meant that children were to walk long distances to the schools (Roger 1974) . Whereas I do agree that access was an issue in the beginning of education in the NT, I do posit that the fear of the unknown was a prime factor coupled with others. This is because the chiefs had the authority and the means to make sure their children were in school no matter the distance but shielded them from it. One of the respondents shared his experience with me:

At that time, there were rarely schools here, so it was only the chiefs and the opinion leaders in the various communities whose children had the opportunity to be taken away to have education down south, just to come back home and be the mouth piece of the Whiteman and the local folks. So it was not expanded that anybody could go to school. But even at that time when it was opened to the children of the chiefs and the opinion leaders, they didn't want to send their own children, it was the children of their slaves who were with them that were sent to school. This area then was not like now as you see it. The whole of the place was thick bush!! If you loved your child that time you wouldn't let him go that far for education and at a point when things started improving, you know, errr.... the chiefs actually moved away from sending the children of their slaves to sending children of their spouses they didn't like, then the children of their relations who were dead and such children were orphans with no one to protect them. So they were the children they asked to go to school and as we were all growing up, we were told these experiences. (HM 5, 03.09.2018)

The role of chiefs in the colonial era cannot be over emphasised. Because the colonialists wanted to save the cost of running the Gold Cost, they resorted to ruling the people through their own leaders (chiefs). They were used for revenue collection, settlement of disputes among others. At that time of colonialism, most of the

Anglophone West African countries practiced indirect rule where chiefs were empowered by the colonialists to rule the indigenes on their behalf. Chiefs were thus tied to the apron strings of the colonialists because they could lose their authority if they never carried out the instructions of them. Figure 4 shows chiefs in their admirable regalia in one of the towns in northern Ghana. Anshan (1995: 328) recounts how chiefs were deposed during the indirect rule for not carrying out the instructions of the colonial masters: “Destoolment [removal from office] was widespread in colonial Ghana between 1900 and the early 1950s, as a traditional means to check a chief’s violation of the oath of office”.



Figure 4: Some Chiefs in the Bulsa Traditional Area of Northern Ghana at a Durbar *Photo by Kandy mega media, 2016.*

Information obtained from a local online journal (<https://buluk.de/new>), focusing on the culture, society and political life of the Bulsa, (a tribe in northern Ghana) was found to be relevant to the discussion here. One of the editors reported how his late

father went to school. The editor's father (referred to here as Anab) was born in a small village called Gbedema in the then NT. He was the son of a chief who had many wives and a many children. Anab narrates his story:

I was not in the know at all about a decision by the family to send me to school. I was too young to be concerned about whatever was happening around me, so when the decision came that a child in the family was to be sent to school, it was, according to my mother, my name which always came up. And even though I was not aware of what was going on, she made a number of attempts to prevent me from being sent to school by taking me from Gbedema [where Anab comes from] to her maiden-home in Kanjarga-Jiningsa [where Anab's mother comes from]. Unfortunately for her, I didn't like the idea of being kept away from home, so each time she sent me there I would cry and worry my grandmother by refusing to eat or play with other children and insist to be sent back to Gbedema. She would succeed in convincing me to stay only one night. The next day she had to send me back to Gbedema (Ayaric 2013: 45).

This account of Anab is a typical case where parents especially mothers shielded their children from going to school. One of the ways of doing that was to send their children away from home so that they are kept out of reach to be sent to school.

Anab continues with his story:

When the chiefs were summoned to Sandema by the District Commissioner, a young Englishman, and given the responsibility to get children from their various villages to enrol in school [...] My parents, my father in particular, noticed that I was not concerned at all about what was happening with my name constantly being mentioned, so he was not worried and didn't hide the discussion about the matter from me and from other members

of the house. The Colonial District Office made it clear that they were expecting more than one child from each chief's family. Unfortunately, no other parents in our house were prepared to release their children to join me [...] Chiefs who disobeyed such orders were always made to suffer for it by paying a fine or even losing their chieftaincy. I was to be the sacrificial lamb of the family (Ayaric 2013: 45)

Anab continued to tell us how he was transported to school:

I was taken to Sandema [about 20 km from anab's village] on horseback¹² by one of my father's followers. He himself and another follower rode alone on their horses. I failed the interview [in the first attempt]. I was too young to even understand what it was all about and behave appropriately so as to qualify for selection. (Ayaric 2013: 45-46)

It is interesting to note that the situation is now directly opposite in the sense that the “haves” in the Ghanaian society now have the best of education for their children as opposed to the children of the “have nots”. This happened when people started seeing the benefits of education through gainful employment and a better world view of the educated few in society then. I will elaborate this in a subsection later. Whereas, a child was “bundled” to school when she or he was from a poor home or was an orphan, the reality now is that, the rich will get the best places for their children in school before the poor who sometimes can hardly afford it. Thus, many of the early people to be educated in the Northern Territories were the riff-raff of society. I point out that the chiefs and the rich in the then society indulged in what they considered as “child protection.” However, denying their children the opportunity to get educated is what I call “opportunity missing.” Counter to this practice is the claim of Hanselman & Fiel (2016) when they argued that “the school opportunity hoarding hypothesis implies that parents from advantaged social

¹²By then horses were the pride of the Northern chiefs which they used as means of transport as well

groups especially value, recognize, or seek out high-quality schools, or that they are able to monopolize school-level educational resources”. One of the respondents recounted his personal experience:

As you see me here today, I must say that I was lucky to have been an orphan from childhood [laughs]. When the Whiteman asked the chiefs to get children to come to school, I was given out simply because I had nobody to shield me. Those who had responsible and influential parents stood against their children being sent to school. Some had to hide their children from the authorities because sometimes they come around searching to find children. I felt bad at the time that I was put in this situation because I had no body to help me not knowing that it was going to make me great in future. I will say I was a “by-product of ignorance”. If it had been today that people know the importance of education, they would not have sent me to school but will send their own children. I was being used as a scape goat to satisfy the directive of the Whiteman. (RE 7, 02.09.2018)

There were many instances of corroboration from respondents that children were mostly kept away from school because of fear, suspicion and the value system of the people which formal education was not part. Another respondent shared this:

Parents refused to send their own children to school because of out of ignorance, suspicion, and fear. Because as I said, somebody releasing his child or her child to come from Fumbisi to Sandema, even though it's within the same area it's not easy. So orphans and poor people's children were sent to school. (RE 4, 02.10.2018)

Similarly, another respondent revealed that the act of not sending the children to school was out of “ignorance”. As the saying goes, there is no worse disease like ignorance. He explained that the people did not really know how valuable education was to them.

Like I said they did not send the children to school because they knew their children would make them better. It was just ignorance! They had no value for school, do you understand? And I was giving an example that those days the government agent at that time would then ask every chief to bring two children and in the case, my father was a chief instead of sending us his children he would send other people's children, this is a clear case. Then in our house my father went somewhere and brought a child, and he went to school. Sometimes he would stay with us and go to school and when he came back, he was called catechist [because he got catholic missionary education]. Then we told our father we also want to go to school and then when he saw the value of school, he then sent us and I was one of the first people from our house in 1945 who was sent to school. When they said chief bring somebody then I went. (RE 1, 20.09.2018)

In the Northern part of Ghana, the stories about going to school in the early days of the introduction of western education abound. Again, on the online journal "Buluk and the Bulsa" (a traditional area in north-eastern Ghana), I read interesting stories which tell the feelings of going to school at that time. A boy narrates his ordeal of going to school:

In 1950 December, when they were looking for children to fill up the new class at the beginning of the new form in 1951, I was seen in the market by some of the teachers and they put my hand on my head and tried to see, if my palm could touch my opposite ear. My palm could not touch it but they wrote my name down and the section I come from. And they took it to the chief. When I came home and told what had happened to me at the market, my mother did not allow me to go to the market anymore for fear that I would be taken to school and I being her last son, she would be left alone. The chief sent my name to the headman of my section

and the headman also informed my father about what the chief had said and my father took me to the chief to see, if I was up to the age of going to school. When my father was taking me to the chief, my mother wept bitterly and she did not eat that day. She felt, I would no more come to the house that day, because the school children in those days were kept in the school for six months without coming home and were not properly treated...

When the news reached my mother that I was chosen, she was restless and that night she tried to escape with me to an unknown place, so that I might not be able to go to the school, but my father knew it and was all the time sleeping in my mother's room, to prevent her from escaping with me, for if my mother had succeeded in escaping with me, my father would have been detained by the chief until I was brought. When my mother saw that she couldn't escape with me and time was drawing near for me to part [with] her and go to the school, she started using robing the whole of my body as a sign that I am not well. (Kröger 2003: 21-22)

Another boy shares his story about how his enrolment into school was resisted by his parents:

In 1949 there was a force [decree] by the Sandemnab [Chief] that every child, about five years old or over, should go to school [...] My parents got to hear of this news and asked me to go to my uncle's house. By then I was five years old. So I went to my uncle's house. I stayed there for three years. The police came there to look for other children in the house. They did not see me, because my father told my uncle not to let me go to school. And so, when the police were coming to the house, my uncle asked me to go to the bush so that the police could not see me around the house. So I went to the bush in the morning and came back in the evening. By

then the police had gone away with some children from that area.
(Kröger 2003: 22)

As I earlier on pointed out, one will agree that ignorance was one of the factors which militated against the development of education in the Northern Territories. However, it is important to also note the people of the NT practiced subsistence farming as their mainstay. They therefore considered their children as a good source of labour force to work on their farms and would not want to lose that labour force to the school (Brukum 1997). As of that time, the need to have many hands working on one's farm was a *sine qua non* for prosperity as well as personal development. This made the practice of polygyny ubiquitous in northern Ghana by especially the chiefs and the affluent in society as the many women that some men married stood the chance of begetting several children that will serve as a labour force on their farms together with their mothers. Thus, before the advent of education in Northern Ghana, a man's worth was partly measured by how far and wide he tilled the land as well as his family size in terms of the number of wives and children. It meant the importance of somebody in society was measured by your quality of life and how you were honoured in that regard. This value system is symptomatic of what Pierre Bourdieu calls *social capital* where "the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability..." (Bourdieu 1984).

Thus, one can find in most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, that one of the reasons some men practice polygyny is agricultural farm-work related (Jacoby 1995). As Patricia Olwyn Townshend succinctly put it, "polygyny was originally a means by which men acquired status and labour as the more wives a man had, the more children he could have and the greater will be his labour force giving him wealth and status" (Townshend 2008: 37).

In trying to have a holistic view of the less development of education in the North, one cannot totally tell the story without mention of the part the people of the North might have also played. As asserted earlier on, the people themselves did not want to send their children to school because of varied reasons. One interesting revelation that I obtained from the respondents was that the people refused to send their

children to school for cultural reasons. They were afraid their culture stood threatened if they allowed the children to go to school to learn the Whiteman's culture. In response to the question why the people of the North did not want their children to go school, one of the respondents said:

They didn't want infiltration of foreign culture. They felt that formal education would eliminate or take away the children from them. They thought when they sent their children to school they will end up behaving like the Whiteman. They will dress like the Whiteman, speak the Whiteman's language and do all the things that the Whiteman used to do which was at variance with their culture. (RE 12, 15.09.2018)

Talking about the fear of getting the African culture being adulterated by the Whiteman's education, a famous African writer, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, in his book titled, '*decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*', shows his discontent of how colonial education eroded the belief system of people who had their native names, speak their own language and so on. He recounted how they were told stories in their local language by the adults which got lost when he went to school. He explained: " [...] and then I went to school, a colonial school, and this harmony was broken. The language of my education was no longer the language of my culture any language has a dual character it is both a means of communication and carrier of culture" (Wa Thiong'o 1986: 11).

This kind of perception falls in line with the argument of the reproduction theorists who claim that the dominant social groups of society will use the educational system to get the student a certain culture that has been introduced; as revealed by Bourdieu's research on the linkage between the school setting of reasoning in a modern society which is pivotal in the reproduction of a unique *Habitus* of culture (Bourdieu 1972). Bourdieu continue to write: "it may be assumed that every individual owes to the type of schooling he has received a set of basic, deeply interiorised master patterns" (Bourdieu 1972: 192-193). Going by this Bourdieuan assertion, the Northern part of Ghana which did not meet the colonialists for long

were somewhat right in hesitating to release their children for education because they thought their children would have been socialised into the Whiteman's culture to the detriment of their own local culture. While reasoning with them on this issue and also as Daramola & Babatunde (2015: 32) assert that "globalization can be empowering and coercive invasion that will lead to disintegration of identity and the spirit of culture", I argue that this was largely born out of unawareness in the sense that after the North had embraced education, their local culture is/was not extinct but just that globalisation has had an influence on some aspects of the culture. However, one can argue that globalisation has arguably not left any culture in the world untouched. Once we live in open societies, we are confronted constantly with effects of globalisation on our cultures. Thus, long after colonialism, the Africa culture cannot be said to be only negatively affected by globalisation; there are also positive effects to the story (Ugbam et al. 2014). All these reasons for not allowing their children to go to school did not last. In the next subchapter I will discuss how thing changed after sometime.

4.5 Perceptual Change and the Scramble for Education in Northern Ghana

As pointed out earlier about the apathetic attitude of people of northern extraction in sending their children to school in the very early stage of the inception of western education, things changed when the chiefs and people of the North started understanding and appreciating the value of the education they were being introduced to. By the 1920s, the demand for education in northern Ghana started increasing as Der (2001) gives the possible reasons for this change:

This increasing demand for education was due to certain social and economic factors. Socially, there was a marked change in the attitude of the people toward education. Whereas in the past the Chiefs and their people were reluctant to send their children to school, they now showed a real interest in having their young ones educated. This change came about from a realisation that education brought prestige to the families of the children

receiving it. An educated son stood far above his non-literate companions in the community sometimes simply because he could speak English and read and write letters for the Chief and his people. He was also a symbol of social change because of the clothes he wore and the manner in which he comported himself. Economically, the Chiefs and their people, particularly those around administrative centres, were beginning to realise that children sent to school were not a loss on the farms but an economic asset in that salaries earned through employment in the Government Departments or as teachers could be of considerate assistance to their parents (Der 2001: 112).

It must be noted that when there was a surge in the demand for education, the colonial administration could hardly meet the expenditure for the expansion of education and the then Governor pleaded that there were no funds as there was going to be some cost in building Achimota School¹³ (Der 2001). One participant of this study revealed:

Today, the chief would send his beloved children to school which was not the case. It was a far-fetched reason not to send the children to school. Then the other one was when development was then coming and the chiefs now realised that it was useful to send their own children to school, access became a problem, and Nkrumah in the 1961 Education Act, decreed for every child to be sent to school. This act said if any parent doesn't send his child to school that parent would be put before court and the law would follow its order. That didn't satisfactorily work out. Even up till 3 years back here it didn't work in this country because they were no schools. So if you come and my children are in the house working and you want to send me to court I will ask the court that

¹³One of the elite schools in the South which was built in the colonial era

where are the schools that you want me to send my children to?
(RE 10, 03.09.2018)

This explains the fluidity of boundaries as I argued earlier on. A time had come where the set boundaries were then blurring out because the boundary maker and the self-exclusionists had attitudinal changes.

4.6 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has shown the patterns behind the exclusionary strategies that have brought about the underdevelopment of education in northern Ghana as well as the means by which such schemes were used to achieve that aim. It has been demonstrated that because the colonialists wanted the North to continue to be docile towards them, they did not want to give a meaningful education to them. In the same vain, the Northerners were being prepared for jobs in the country that did not need higher education to perform but just a minimum level of education which was provided them. However, it also came out that hesitation and “ignorance” could also have partly caused the low development of education because they were uncertain about the unknown effects of education being introduced to them for the first time. The reluctance was emanating from the fact the people of the North had incidences of slave raids which restrained the indigenes from opening up to people they did not know for long. Based on this, it has been argued in this chapter that by the attitude of the Northerners themselves, it can be said that the underdevelopment of education in that area cannot be totally explained by the actions of the colonialists but that the reasons northerners had for not sending their children to school in the beginning also affected educational participation. The underdevelopment of education in the North then led to the introduction of a special scholarship scheme which was meant to solve the problem. I shall discuss the said policy in the ensuing chapter.

Chapter Five

5. The Role of Affirmative Action in Minimising Educational Exclusion

Chapter four has shown why and how northern Ghana was largely excluded in the developmental agenda of the Gold Coast particularly with respect to education. This chapter appraises how the Northern Scholarship Scheme (NSS) which was put in place to bridge the educational gap between the North and the South is performing. The chapter first presents the background of the Northern Scholarship Scheme and the changes that have occurred to its package leading to the current shrinkage in its components. This is followed by the results generated from the Q methodology which was used to evaluate the implementation of the policy and its outcomes. In all, the Q methods produced four factors which represent four themes that cover the evaluation of the performance of the Policy. Each theme thus represent the somewhat collective opinion of the participants regarding how the policy fared in reducing educational inequality between the North and the South of Ghana.

5.1 Background to the Northern Scholarship Scheme (NSS): Initial and Current Package

Much as there have been claims that the policy covered wider benefits than it has now (Gbadamoshi 2016), one of the research questions was to find out how the policy package has changed as compared to when it started. Most of the respondents were beneficiaries of the policy some years back and are able to tell the difference between now and then. During the march for independence from the colonialists, one Mr. Alhassan Gbazaba was said to be the only graduate from the North whilst the South had many people with higher levels of education (Gbadamosi 2016). As a result, there was the general impression that the colonialists accepted that they were the cause of the backwardness of north but could not do anything to stop the independence of the country because the Northerners wanted to opt out (Gbadamosi 2016). The colonialists therefore “proposed a grant of thirty million British pounds” for the

development of the North but Dr. Kwame Nkrumah¹⁴ rejected it on the grounds that it could cause insecurity in the country if the colonialists were to disburse that amount to the North without the involvement of the independent Ghana Government (Gbadamosi 2016: 154). He (Dr. Kwame Nkrumah) therefore wanted to superintend the disbursement of the money. One of the retired educationists shared his view on this:

[...] so up to some stage in 1957, Nkrumah moved down and said Ghana was developed and wanted independence and our leaders in the North of blessed memory, able fighters, said when Nkrumah was going to Britain to discuss the matter with the queen, they went with him. They told the queen if Ghana is ready for independence, we [northerners] were not because they [southerners] were going to exploit us the more. They [the Southerners] are more educated than us and we are going to continue doing the menial work for them. So, we are not ready to join them for independence. What the colonialists did will give the Southerners the impetus to look down on the Northerners and misuse them. Lo and behold even after independence, the Northerner is still amiable in the hands of the Southerner to date. So how did it go? Then the queen of Britain, she is not dead, I hope they will allow you to go and interview her, these facts are in her finger tips; she said Nkrumah, the Northerners are right, so I would put some money aside; keep it here in London, bridge the gap of development between the North and the South and you can have your independence. Nkrumah then told the queen, please I prefer self-government in servitude to freedom in tranquillity. Give the money to me, I would take them home and I would do

¹⁴The pioneer Prime Minister and President of Ghana, who led the fight for independence from Britain in 1957

that. Excuse me, our leaders did not think far, the Northern leaders easily agreed. (RE 16, 26.07.2016)

Immediately following independence, the first president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah introduced the Northern Scholarship Scheme which was meant to reduce the yawning gap between the North and the South as a result of the imbalances in development between the two sides of Ghana perpetuated by the colonial administration (Bening 2015). It is intriguing another participant pointed out why the Northern Scholarship Scheme was instituted. He felt it was a way for the colonialists to appease the Northerners and that was to say they were sorry for what they had done:

[...] that was when they realised that we [northerners] had suffered in their hands that much. So let us compensate them and that was how the Northern scholarship started. It was a kind of apology, so if you didn't wrong somebody, why should you apologise? Because they realised that they wronged the whole nation but the most affected was the Northern sector so that was why they instituted the Northern scholarship as an issue of compensation for the North. (SHUW 3, 30.10.2016)

According Songsore et al. (2001: 226), from the onset, the scholarship scheme covered the following:

- a scholarship scheme targeted at very deserving mature students to gain access to secondary education. This scheme was tenable only in Tamale Secondary School;
- a special grant covering books, transport and out of pocket expenses for the few Northern students entering University;
- a general scholarship scheme for all students of Northern extraction attending secondary school. Since tuition was free for all, this scholarship covered boarding fees; and
- a reduced fee for textbooks for pupils of Northern extraction in primary and middle schools. For example, whilst the

Northern pupils paid one cedi each for textbooks at both primary and middle schools, their Southern [Ahanti and the colony] counterparts paid three cedis and four cedis per annum, respectively.

The scheme was meant to tackle the underdevelopment of the North through education (Gbadamosi 2016; Issaka et al. 2000). Since its inception, it hardly got any policy review yet most of its components have been reduced to the barest minimum. Its original package covered the cost of education of people from the North of Ghana from primary education to the university level. According to Issaka Francisca and her colleagues, one of the components of the NSS was to get:

capable adults from the North who missed the opportunity of attending secondary school because of official colonial policies to attend the then Government Secondary School [the first secondary school in the North] starting from Form 4 under some kind of arrangement of study leave with pay which the selection was by an entrance exam (Issaka et al. 2000: 10).

Under the arrangement of study leave with pay, students who were already mature and did not get secondary education because of the delay in introducing secondary education in the North were paid their salaries whilst they were studying. One of the participants in this study who personally enjoyed the better and earlier package of the Northern Scholarship Scheme shared his experience of the past:

Previously, if you pass and you go to the secondary school, school uniforms and cross-sandals were given to you. I completed Ghanasco, [one of the secondary schools in the North] I enjoyed all these things. We were even calling it “fusheni-naagore”, some nice cross-sandals. Now can you see these things done? Now you cannot get that. Parents have to pay the cost of sewing their wards school uniforms and other things. In those days when you enter into the dining hall, food was very good. When you were lucky they gave you soap too. But now, the scholarship package has been

reduced drastically and the university level is taking away and left with only feeding grants. Even with the feeding grants component, I am sure that in a year or few years to come, they may scrap it too because of how current governments are behaving politically with it. (SHUE 18, 26.08.2016).

It appears the then Government was doing all it could to increase the numbers of formal educated people in the North in order to achieve the goal of the policy. All a student from the North was required was to be available in order to be educated. The burden of the cost of education of children was taken away from their parents who were predominantly poor. One of the study participants shared his experience of the policy in the past:

The package was that boarding facilities were given. School uniforms, sandals, exercise books, feeding and smocks were free. All what you needed to do was to come from your home “naked” and they will cloth you. And it will surprise you to note that during holidays, means of transport was paid for us to go back home. We were also given some “packet money” to buy food as we travel home. In fact, we really enjoyed it! So we had nothing to do apart from concentrating on our studies. So that is how the scholarship scheme came. We enjoyed everything free. Today we can’t enjoy them. (RE 30, 12.09.2016)

It is important to point out here that some northerners feel they are short-changed because they have not had a full benefit of the money that was purported to have been given to the then leader of government business to develop the North to an appreciable level. Some held the view that the money voted was their “birth right” in the sense that the colonialists somewhat gave it for reparation because of how the North was treated during their reign. One of those who felt the money was not properly accounted for vociferously expressed his opinion:

[..] He [leader of Government business] didn’t use the money for the purpose of which it was given, and the focal point which

ignorant Ghanaians are misquoting and saying that the thing is free education is this. Now you said that the money was to provide infrastructure and physical development so that northerners who go to any school in Ghana, are catered for from that money. Put up many schools in the North, anybody of northern extraction or school going age gets his/her education from the basic to tertiary level free of charge, which is not the case now. The money does not belong to the whole Ghana, unless you want to tell me you have found out that the queen's money got finished ten years after we were given the money. But nobody here can tell us so. I stand very strongly to say that the money is not Ghana money. That is why no government from independence till date could stop this policy. (RE 16, 26.07.2016)

These views have to do with how the policy dwindled from its inception through the implementation phase. This is to some extent due to how political the policy has been. In the next subsection, I will present the viewpoints of respondents regarding how the Northern Scholarship Scheme has been politicised.

5.2 The Politics of the Northern Scholarship Scheme

It has been pointed out that the Northern Scholarship Scheme was a political tool used to woo the Northerners to join the crusade for independence from colonial rule (Gbadamoshi 2016). When the first president of Ghana was going round the country canvassing for support from the independence agendum to come to fruition, the Northerners said they were not ready as there was a developmental gap between the North and the South and that they will only join the match for independence on condition that something was done to bridge the gap between the two sides (Brukum 1998). Thereon, the Northern Scholarship Scheme has come under serious attacks that threaten its very existence (Songsore et al. 2001). These attacks come from some people from the South who argue that poverty is not only in the North but can also be found in some parts of the South. Gbadamoshi recounts a sitting of “the justice Adade Committee” which was set up to find out whether the

NSS should continue and he was in attendance where it was strongly argued that it should be scrapped (Gbadamosi 2016). To further make a point that other parts of the country equally needed such a scholarship, Bening (2015: 441) reports that members of parliament from the Brong- Ahafo Region (a region in the South) led by the member from Wenchi East, C.S Takyi demanded a special scholarship for their people because of the fact that their economic standing was largely like that of the North. However, their request was not granted by parliament with reason that: “establishment of special scholarships for individual regions or states in the country was bound to militate against the oneness of whole Ghana” (Bening 2015:446).

As time went on, there had been suspicion and anxiety that the scholarship scheme could one day be cancelled. Barely two years after the policy was instituted it is reported by Bening (2015:446) that Mumuni Bawumia, who was then member of Parliament for Mampurishi area made a submission in parliament which was symptomatic of the suspicion of the scholarship being scrapped: “The special Scholarship Scheme for the North is not operating satisfactorily and I am quite sure it will die a natural death.” Despite the fact that all has been hazy about the future of the scholarship, there has not been a Government with the political courage to cancel it. A respondent shared his view why it is not easy to scrap it even though it has some challenges:

You see, there is no Government that will come and have the political will to cancel this policy. The politics of Ghana is such that a Government will need the support of the North to win election and any Government that will temper with this policy will lose votes from the North. The North can decide to do block-voting against such a Government. That tells you why if a party or a presidential candidate is from the South, that party will try to get somebody from the North to be the vice presidential candidate. That is how we are wired politically here in Ghana. (SHN 14, 21.07.2016)

This apparently has been corroborated by Gbadamosi (2016) when he asserted that:

The truth is that, in the past 57 years of Ghana's independence, no democratically elected Government could have brazenly cancelled that scholarship without thinking of the risk of losing votes in the area. That cannot be divorced from the fact that the two biggest parties in Ghana have now (2015) agreed that the whole country should enjoy free senior high school attendance. (Gbadamosi 2016: 157-8)

The politics and fight against the policy by some southerners continued as Rahim Gbadamosi shared another meeting he attended where the cancellation of the policy was discussed:

There was another occasion when the issue was raised at a meeting of Directors of Education when the late Mr. D.V. Owiredu was the Director General of the Ghana Education Service. He discounted the notion that there were other poor communities in the South and so the scholarship in the North should be scrapped. He said, even on that basis alone, the issue was about a vast area of the country afflicted by endemic poverty. He said pockets of poverty here and there in the South were nothing to compare with the situation in the North. He said, rather than cancel the scholarships scheme for secondary students in the North, it would be more reasonable to consider extending it to pockets of poor communities in the South (Gbadamosi 2016: 157).

In the same vein I reached out to participants to find out what might happen to the North if the scholarship scheme comes to an end one day. There was a strong disagreement with the cancellation of it as attempts had been made by some governments in the past to scrap it (Bening 2015; Gbadamosi 2016). When I asked for his opinion of the state of development in North if the scholarship is cancelled, one of the respondents had this to say:

Ahh!! For the North, either the progress in terms of human resource development will be stagnated or we will be taken back

and the gap between the North and the South will further widen. Because in the South they have royalties, in fact, if you are not a lazy person in the South, you will earn a living. Here in the dry season in the North, you can hardly earn a living (SHUW 9, 15.10.2016).

These concerns raised by this respondent were views held by some people in the Northern part of Ghana. Poverty is the bane of development in that part of the country and if this educational policy is taken away from them, it stands to exacerbate the situation. According to the Ghana living Standards Survey (GLSS), the regions of the North are comparatively the poorest regions in Ghana (GSS 2013).

It was also held that the Northern Scholarship Scheme ought to continue because of the imbalanced nature of natural resource-endowment and other opportunities that the Southern part of Ghana is much favoured with. Here, one headmaster explains:

There is a gap which we already all know. Even if people don't talk about it but down south there are some other scholarships but here in the North, this is the only scholarship we seem to enjoy. So if you scrap it, we are going to further widen the gap because they have Cocoa Board Scholarship which we don't enjoy and most of the business companies are there. Mining companies are down there. They have a number of scholarships (SHN 4, 21.07.2016).

The sentiments of some of participants were that in addition to the many resources (including cocoa which is not grown in the North) that the Southern part of Ghana is endowed with, they also have the Cocoa Marketing Board Scholarships which are awarded to some of their children. The Cocoa Marketing Board Scholarships are instituted to cater for the children of cocoa farmers in the Southern part of Ghana. According to the respondents, majority of the people who work on the cocoa farms are northerners who usually migrate to the South in the lean season who are not covered by the Cocoa Marketing Scholarship Scheme. They therefore, see this arrangement as unfair once cocoa is largely produced in Ghana through the toils of some people from the North. This was well articulated by one of the respondents:

[...] that is why I always say that when they talk of the cocoa farmers, the Northerners are the cocoa farmers. But if they say cocoa owners I know that the Southerners own the cocoa (SHUE, 6 24.08.2016).

Upon all these concerns regarding the instability of the policy, its implementation was still in progress. However, there were a couple of challenges that thwarted the full impact of it. The next section discusses these challenges that were arrived at through the Q methodology.

5.3 Intractable Educational Inequalities in the Face of a Policy Intervention

One of the objectives of this study is to find out the possible challenges that face the implementation of the Northern Scholarship Scheme. In Q methodology, like-minded viewpoints of respondents are grouped into factors. Thus, this factor (1) of respondents held viewpoints that sought to lament over the woes and challenges of the Northern Scholarship Scheme in their responses. Consequently, this factor was given the theme above to reflect the views and sentiments that they expressed according to the tenants of Q methodology (Watts & Stenner 2012). Factor one had as high as twelve (12) participants who define it by loading highly on it, accounting for a variance of 36%. The analysis is found in the model array for Factor 1 as presented in Figure 5. The unit of analysis considered in this study were the statements with extreme rankings (statements with Z-scores¹⁵ greater than negative/positive one). The extreme statements in the model array are 2, 4, 10, 19,24,12,13,23,3, and 28 which were largely statements related to the challenges bedevilling the Northern scholarship scheme (see Table 7).

¹⁵ Z-scores show how far from the overall mean (measured in standard deviations) each item is for the group.(see Donnor 2001)

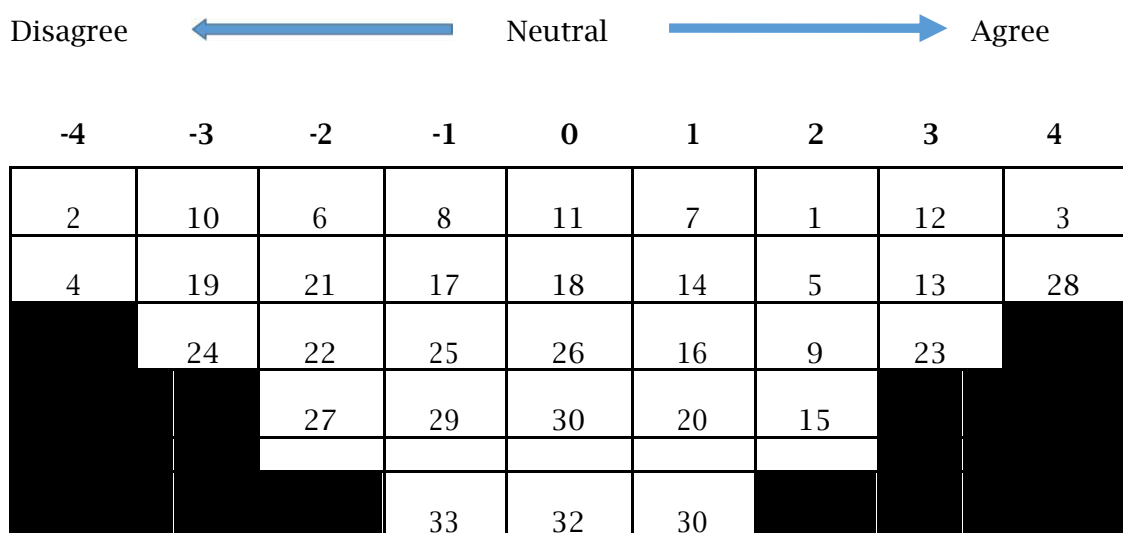


Figure 5: Factor Array of Factor One

Source: Field work (2016)

Table 7: Extreme Ranking Statements with High and Low Z-scores

No.	Statement	Z-score
3	Delays in the release of funds for the scheme affect contact hours and invariably academic performance of students.	1.834
28	The main goal of the Northern Scholarship Scheme is to bridge the educational gap between the North and the South	1.597
12	One negative effect of the scheme is how the fee-paying students are also asked to go home as a result of the delay in releasing the feeding grant.	1.597
13	Students are sometimes served with substandard food because of the delay in the release of the feeding grant	1.406
23	If the Northern Scholarship Scheme is scrapped, the gap between the North and south will stand to widen again	1.273
24	Government should not continue to waste money on the scheme when the WASSCE pass rate of students in the three regions in the North is not encouraging	-1.334
10	Northerners are not taking maximum advantage of the Northern Scholarship Scheme to send their children to school	-1.543

No.	Statement	Z-score
19	Northerners are used to free things from the past such that they will find it difficult to fend for themselves if the Northern Scholarship Scheme is scrapped	-1.572
2	Northerners have come of age and can do without the scholarship scheme	-1.644
4	It is better to scrap the Northern Scholarship Scheme in order to have a smooth flow of academic work.	-1.661

Source: Field work (2016)

From Table 7, statement 13 is one of those with high ranking of a Z-score of 1.4. This statement was about how all the students are made to eat substandard meals because school authorities did not have money to purchase food for them. As of the time I did this study, each student was to be fed on GH¢3.9 (0.88 cents, at an exchange rate of €1 to ₵4.42 as of September, 2016) per day, a rate which the school authorities complained that was woefully inadequate. Notwithstanding this, the school managers relied heavily on private enterprises to supply foodstuffs on credit basis when the feeding grants were not forthcoming. These suppliers became financially fatigued because of the heavy indebtedness of the schools thereby stopping the supplies. This most often placed school administrators in a difficult situation that they have to appeal to students to bear with them and manage with whatever food is served them. One of the school authorities I talked to had this to share:

Sometimes the students take raw tea (without milk and bread). “Coloured water” is served for breakfast and they will have to take it like that. We always had to appeal to them to just manage the situation. So what do you do? Headmaster has no money to buy bread and the suppliers of foodstuffs have refused to give supplies because the school has not paid its debt owed them [...] the delay in payment really affects both the quantity and quality of what students eat. There is a saying that “what you have is what you put into the pot”. (SHN 3, 20.07.2016)

Since secondary schools are largely boarding in Ghana, the principles of the policy is that northern students who are housed should be fed for their stay in school. For students of northern extraction, they were supposed to pay no boarding fees while their Southern counterparts paid full fees for their upkeep. The school authorities received bursaries from Government to feed students from the North whilst they collected monies from those from the South which they used for their feeding. Schools from the North completely depended on the Government bursaries for feeding and all the cost of boarding facilities in the school. However, there had been a perennial delay in releasing the funds which most often led to precarious situations in the school. Tried as they could, the school administrators will manage to feed the students for some time if the bursaries delay. As a result, they sometimes provided the students with substandard food which affected the students in varied ways.

This situation is counterproductive because students who could not afford to supplement the school's breakfast had minimum concentration when lessons were being taught in class. They were most likely going to be thinking of what was up for lunch and what was there to supplement it in case it was insufficient. Moreover, most students could not afford supplementary meals because of the poverty levels of northern Ghana. The Ghana Statistical Service has reported that the regions in the Northern part of Ghana are the poorest among the others (Ghana Statistical Service 2014).

One of the students shared her story with me regarding the quality and quantity of food:

The food is sometimes not good both in quantity and quality. When we are served with insufficient and poor quality food, it affects our studies greatly. We sometimes eat especially breakfast which is so small in quantity that we easily get hungry when lessons are being taken. It actually affects our concentration a lot because we can hardly do any effective learning on empty stomachs (SS 1, 20.07.2016).

Not only did the beneficiary school children eat meals of poor quality, sometimes schools were not able to reopen at the appropriate time for academic work to begin. The participants in the study ranked the statement 3 which states that: “Delays in the release of funds for the scheme affect contact hours and invariably academic performance of students,” the highest with z-core of 1.8. This had become a recurrent problem in Ghana that almost every year the government delayed in releasing the feeding grants to cater for the cost of feeding in the boarding schools in northern Ghana which had serious repercussions and one of these consequences was late reopening of schools in the North. However, because feeding was paid for by parents of the students in the Southern schools they were able to reopen their schools on schedule. They did not wait for government to send money before they reopen. In talking to this issue, one headmaster disclosed:

Sometimes we here are waiting for the feeding grants to come before we reopen schools. When it delays, while we are waiting, the schools in the South would have started classes. How are we going to cover our syllabus with this? So they perform better than us in the final exams” (SHUE 18, 20.09. 2016)

What apparently made this problematic according to this participant was that schools in the Northern part of Ghana sometimes missed about four to six weeks of teaching and learning time because they were not able to reopen the time they should. Notwithstanding the fact that this category of students sometimes lose a couple of weeks of study time, all the students in Ghana write a common examination where the results are used for their selection into the various universities in the country. So, by the time the whole country will be sitting for that exam, those in the Northern Ghana would not have covered all the syllabi thereby affecting the general performance of the Northern schools:

We run the whole of last year, 2015/2016 academic year on credit. It was only in July that we were given bursaries for the first term of the last academic year and as at today we are talking, the second and third terms boarding grants are still in arrears and we are not

sure as to when we are going to be paid. We have written a letter explaining our inability to reopen if they do not pay. This letter is dated 8th August 2017 and the situation has not changed. We don't know when they will release the money to us. And we are saying even if they are able to release one term, (the second term) we should be able to pay our debts and will be able to reopen [...] do we bring the children and give them grass?(SHUE 31, 21.08.2016)

This respondent incidentally was a leading member of the Northern chapter of the Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools (CHASS). CHASS is an association of all the heads of Government assisted secondary schools in Ghana and a chapter of it is that in the Northern part of Ghana where the Northern Scholarship Scheme was being implemented. The said respondent showed me a letter dated 8th August, 2016 with the subject: "Non-Release of Boarding Grants" which was purported to have been written by the chairperson of CHASS to the Ministry of Education of the Government of Ghana issuing a warning that they will not reopen the schools if the bursaries delayed in coming. Paragraphs one and three had the following information:

We the members of Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools in the three Northern Regions wish to again draw the attention of Honourable Minister of Education and the Director-General of Ghana Education Service to the huge indebtedness of the boarding schools [...] As a result, the heads are confronted with the following challenges that need urgent attention:

1. It was extremely difficult to feed the student during the 3rd term since this was lean season and we owed suppliers huge sums.
2. As at the time of writing this letter, the boarding grant for 2nd and 3rd terms of the 2015/2016 academic year are still outstanding.

3. The schools' indebtedness to the food suppliers is so huge that we are being threatened court actions by the suppliers.
4. The suppliers are requesting for upwards price reviews as a result of the very long delay in the release of the grants and which ultimately would affect our budget.

In light of the above development and constraints, it will be extremely difficult to reopen for the 1st term of the 2015/2016 academic year if the outstanding boarding grants are not released to the schools. (SHN 31, 21.07.2016)

It was not only the school administrators who were concerned and worried about the Government's delay in releasing the feeding grants for the schools in the Northern part of Ghana. I visited one of the Civil Society Organisations (CSO) that participated in this study and was provided with a position paper they had sent to the Government of Ghana (GOG). The Northern Network for Education Development (NNED) is a CSO that is based in the Northern part of Ghana-Tamale, and their core mandate is to improve and enhance education in that part of the country. Here are parts of the position paper dated, 15th January, 2014 titled: "Position Paper on Feeding Grants for Senior High Schools" sent to GOG:

NNED has noted with grave concern the publication in the Daily Graphic [a national newspaper] of Tuesday, 14th January and captioned "83 SHSs [Senior High Schools] delay reopening due to lack of feeding grant". The paper further reported that the inability of the 83 Senior High Schools (SHS) in the North to admit all students on the re-opening day (January 13, 2014) is due to non-payment of two terms' feeding subsidies owed them by government [...]. NNED calls on government to urgently release the grants earlier than the time stated by the Finance Minister. We suggest the week of 20th to 24th January 2014 to avert this vicious cycle of anxiety among school heads, students and their parents (Kumah 2014).

The concerns raised by some of the participants about the exam performance of students from the North that could have been occasioned by loss of teaching time is clearly demonstrated in Table 8. All the secondary school students write a common exam called the West Africa Secondary School Certificate Examination (WASSCE). This exam is conducted by the West Africa Examination Council (WAEC) where English, Mathematics, Integrated Science and Social Studies are core subjects that are taken by all the secondary school students in Ghana alongside their elective subjects. These core subjects form the bases and their elective subjects are also added to qualify students into the Universities in Ghana. Table 8 shows that the three regions of northern Ghana scored far below the national averages in all the core subjects and this could partly be attributed to challenges of the policy implementation which includes loss of academic contact time among other general factors in Ghana.

Table 8: WASSCE Pass Rate by Region, 2014

Region	English	Mathematics	Integrated Science	Social Studies
Ashanti	69	59	55	72
Brong Ahafo	70	76	65	86
Central	59	36	36	68
Eastern	70	47	45	73
Greater Accra	75	45	46	74
Western	63	54	47	71
Volta	61	33	36	65
Northern	33	23	21	52
Upper East	47	28	34	66
Upper West	59	28	42	80
Grand Total	64	48	46	71

Source : (Ministry of Education 2015), *Education Sector Performance Report*

Also, it tells the story that suggests that the inequality of education between the North and south of Ghana is persistent notwithstanding the policy intervention.

One other issue that emerged in the study that hampered the success of the policy and the development of education in the area was the inadequate supply of educational infrastructure in the Northern part of Ghana. One participant who loaded heavily on this factor shared his view:

Look at the population of our students. Let's take the secondary education and look at the number of schools here as compared to the rest of the country. That means we are not getting most of our students into the second cycle institutions. Then look at educational facilities, take this school, for instance, it has been in existence for not less than twenty (20) years and no Assembly Hall. So you see the infrastructural inequalities are still very glaring [...] you see that inequalities are rather widening instead of bridging because of our lopsided approach to the provision of these kind of educational facilities [...] Imagine that some schools in the North are still struggling to connect electricity to their computer laboratories (SHUE 25, 25. 10.2016).

This falls in line with the claim of Fuller & Robinson (1992) that many developing countries are faced with the challenge of providing the needed educational infrastructure for their people.

Another statement that had a high ranking is statement 2 with a Z-score of -1.644 which states that "northerners have come of age and can do without the scholarship scheme". This is because some schools of thought hold the opinion that over sixty (60) years since the then government established this policy to bridge the gap between the North and the South, they argued that by now the people of northern extraction should have been self-sufficient. The group of stakeholders who formed this factor strongly disagreed with this statement. When asked to proffer reasons for his disagreement, one of the school administrators had this to say:

Don't forget that people from the Northern part of the country have a cultural practice that gives them the duty to take care of members of the extended family. For instance, if your father dies

leaving your siblings under your care or your sister has married away and cannot take care of her children, you have to take care of all that. Imagine all these numbers, no matter how much you are paid, can you do all this? So if you even have a good number of people from northern Ghana who are gainfully employed now, the dependency level is still high. (SHUE 24, 25.08.2016)

This goes to explain the fact that the Northern part of Ghana is still largely rural as compared to the South and thereby ascribes much to the extended family system where ones' kinsmen are supported in times of need. The argument being put forward is that, despite the fact that Ghana largely gives credence to the extended family system, the plight of the North is disadvantageous because of the lack of economic opportunities in comparative terms. Most of the respondents, therefore, blamed it on this system where the few educated and gainfully employed do have the moral duty to help take care of the less privileged who they share kinship ties with. The extended traditional family system in Ghana is a domiciliary group of people comprising close kin, structured around either patrilineal or matrilineal relatives or lineage. A classic extended family system, for instance, is made up of a man, his wife, their offspring/s and their married sons and their wives as well as other kin; or a woman, her husband, their children and their married daughters with their children in addition to other kin (Nukunya 2014). A member of this family system has a wide range of mutual duties, obligations and responsibilities to relatives other than his or her direct conjugal family (Nukunya 2014). These familial roles could be strained by the fact that the typical traditional Ghanaian man has the predisposition of practising polygyny (marrying more than one wife) which widens the social networks of responsibility further. Although the advent of the Christian religion has made some men monogamous, there are still others who are married to more than one wife in Ghana especially those in Islam.

It has been said that the Northern Scholarship Scheme is instituted for all people of northern extraction. However, one could ask, who is a Northerner? According to the Ghana Scholarship Secretariat: "an applicant must have one or both parents hailing

from any of the three Northern Regions that is, Upper East, Upper West or Northern Region". However, there were real challenges as to how to identify or ascertain who a northerner was. The common criterion used was the name of the person. According to Simpson (2008:142), "Ghana has approximately fifty (50) non-mutually intelligible languages, almost all belonging to the Gur and Kwa branches of the Niger-Congo phylum". Akan¹⁶, is a widely spoken local language in Ghana with about 40% native speakers and 60% of people speaking it as second language (Obeng 1997: 64). Thus, Ghana, especially the North has many languages which largely fail to play the role of fostering a common social identity among the people. As a result of the migration of northerners to the South, they sometimes adopt southern names especially those that are related to the week days (e.g Kwesi is the name given to a baby born on a Sunday). If a person with this name goes up north to benefit from the NSS despite the fact that he or she is a northerner by blood, his/her identity will be challenged because names are the main means of identifying beneficiaries of the NSS. One of the headmasters of this factor shared his experience in that regard:

Sometime in the past, there was this student who added a southern name to his northern name. But upon investigation, we detected that, that fellow was even a northerner but he got there and adopted a southern name, like Kwasi Atinga. Kwasi is a southern name and the other [Atinga] is a northern name. Some northern parents, because they have given birth to their child in the South, they will call him Kwasi John. These are foreign names, they are not from the North. But it was detected, we asked the student to change his name if he is actually from the North and he did. We ask him to go and swear affidavits and he did. (SHUW 17, 26.10.2016)

This mode of identification is what Zerubavel claims creates a boundary which tells us as to who belongs to a particular group and who is not. Thus, in this case, a name

¹⁶ A language in the South which widely spoken in Ghana than English which the official language and lingua franca.

identifies you to a group and that can possibly lead to your exclusion from the group (Zerubavel 1993). One of the ways by which some northerners adopt southern names is that, they sometimes name their children after southerners they work for, especially if such people have treated them nicely, they do that in appreciation. One of the headmasters told me they once compiled a list of newly admitted students and sent it to the Scholarship Secretariat for approval but faced the challenge of justifying that all the students on the said list were of northern extraction:

When you send your list to them [the scholarship secretariat], even those names that resemble southern names would be taken out until you go and argue and argue before they will be added. Nobody will be changing names in order just to benefit from this since there would be consequences to those changes. I had a friend, he is a southerner but he was born and bred here in the North. He could even speak the Frafra [one language of the North] better than most northerners yet he was paying school fees because he was not covered even though it was not fair. (SHUW 17, 26.07.2016)

When I visited the scholarship secretariat to verify the eligibility procedure for one to benefit from the scholarship, I got the following information: a) students must be admitted into approved schools in the three northern regions b) Headmasters submit signed list of the eligible boarders indicating the home towns of their parents to the scholarship secretariat for processing. However, if a student is admitted outside the three regions of the North, the parents/Guardians apply to the Scholarship Secretariat on a special form to be endorsed by the school heads and their District Chief Executives of their districts of origin.

Alhaji Rahim Gbadamosi, who was one time a director general of the Ghana education service as well as a beneficiary of the scholarship scheme; in his book titled: *“Events in My Life,”* also reported how someone qualified to enjoy the policy:

According to a decree gazetted by the Colonial Administration (in 1948 or 1949), anyone born in the Protectorate of the Northern

Territories before 1947, whose parents participated in the development programmes of the area, was a citizen of the Protectorate by birth. This was the category of persons and their descendants, who also became Ghanaians by birth on the attainment of Independence by Ghana, who were expected to benefit from the scheme (Gbadamosi 2016: 156).

Still on the issue of identifying beneficiaries, the chairman of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of Ghana Parliament admonished heads of institutions and regional directors of education not to exclude northerners who bare Akan (the largest tribe in Ghana which is in the South) names from benefiting from the Northern scholarship Scheme. He added that:

They are identifying them [Beneficiaries] by names such that if you have an Akan name, you will not be given any scholarship. You can't identify people like that! So I think regional directors of the Ghana Education Service should have a second look at this policy. It is highly unfair. Your name must not deprive you of the benefits that you must have by right. Because you have an Ashanti or an Akan name, you can't benefit even when you are from the North. What is this? (GhanaWeb 2014, 19.09.2018)

He went on to reveal how the issue is wide spread in Ghana and suggested a solution to the problem:

The whole point is that, those of us from Brong-Ahafo [one region in the South] are worried. You are discriminated against because of names, and also in the Northern part of the Volta Region, they are also discriminated against because of names. What kind of policy is this? Why don't they look at birth certificates and parents instead of names? Everywhere in Ghana, even Sunyani; I know there are some young northerners in some parts of Ashanti Region [a region in southern Ghana] like Adwira [sic] area, Sekyere Bonase and Mampong Offinso, who bear Akan names. Should they not

enjoy the scholarships because of their names”? (GhanaWeb 2014, 19.09.2018)

5.4 Bringing Some Respite to Northern Ghana: How Well has the Policy Done?

One of the objectives of this study was to find out how the Northern Scholarship Scheme has fared since its inception. This group of participants expressed views that generally tell the state of the Northern Scholarship Scheme and its effect in achieving the main goal for which it was established more than sixty (60) years ago. They generally held the view that the policy has not worked the way it should have done in bringing education closer to the doorsteps of the Northern part of Ghana so as to catch up with the rest of the country. In reference to the model factor array in Figure 6, the following sorting: 1(+4), 23(+4), 4(-4), 2(-4) and 5(-3) tell that this group of participants were despondent about the achievement of the policy goal of contributing to bridging the educational gap between the North and south of Ghana. This is further revealed by the views of some respondents in the field where quotes are given below.

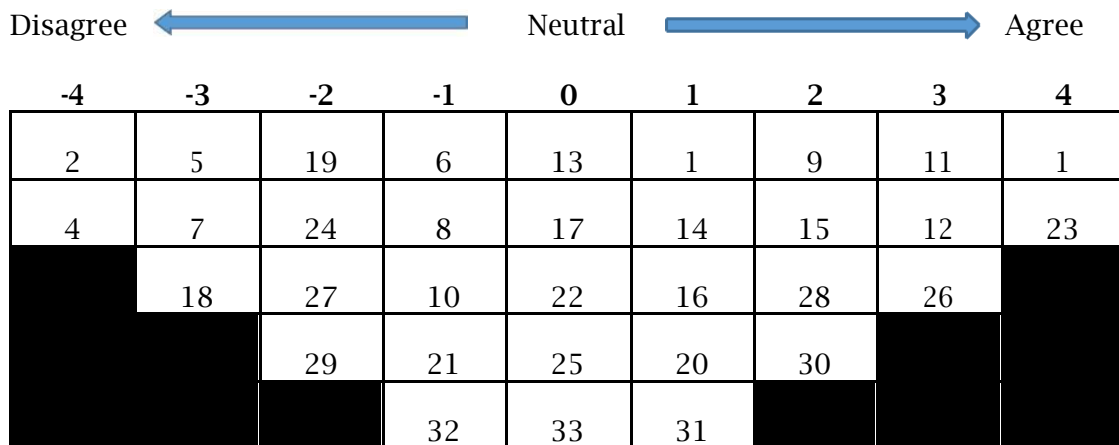


Figure 6: Factor Array of Factor Two

Source: Field work (2016)

Table 9: Factor Two Extreme Ranking Statements with High and Low Z-scores

No	Statement	Z-score
23	If the Northern Scholarship Scheme is scrapped, the gap between the North and south will stand to widen again	2.162
1	The Northern Scholarship Scheme has not reduced educational inequalities between the North and the South. The educational gap between the North and the South is still big	1.301
26	Northerners should continue to benefit from the Northern Scholarship Scheme because a significant majority of labourers who work in mining, cocoa, coffee, and cotton farms are of northern extraction	1.180
11	The Northern Scholarship Scheme had a bigger package in the past than now	1.048
12	One negative effect of the scheme is how the fee-paying students are also asked to go home as a result of the delay in releasing the feeding grant	0.902
18	When we try hard, we will be able to identify parents who can pay their wards' school fees in the North for the policy to be targeted at the very poor.	-0.997
7	The policy is unfair because there are a good number of northerners who can pay for their wards' school fees who also benefit from the scholarship scheme	-1.305
5	The Northern Scholarship Scheme should be targeted at the poor other than everybody in north	-1.608
4	It is better to scrap the Northern Scholarship Scheme in order to have a smooth flow of academic work.	-1.984
2	Northerners have come of age and can do without the scholarship scheme.	-2.408

Source: Field work (2016)

Considering the factor array and statements with extreme ranking of factor 2 in figure 9, this group strongly agreed with statement one (1) that the educational inequality between the North and the South is still big by ranking it (+4) with a z-

score of 1.3. Responding to a follow-up question as to why respondents think the gap between the North and the South of the country is still wide upon the implementation of the NSS, one retired educationist who is a study participant explained:

Yes, if you look at the past and today with regard to the bridging of the gap, I haven't seen it openly to be able to say that this has happened. No schools were purposefully built since the inception of the policy except the few Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFUND) schools that were put up at the beginning. Even if we've heard the president say he is going to put up two hundred schools in Ghana that is not the case even if he puts a few in the North. That is not enough to solve the problem. So I think that not enough work has been done in that regard. It looks like they [Government] have been negligent to have this thing well implemented. So it will remain even worst. One will say the gap has even widened rather than closed up.
(RE 16, 26.07.2016)

This assertion could be explained from another perspective that for the policy to have achieved its goal of contributing significantly to bridging the educational gap between the North and the South, Government needed to have doubled its commitment in order to have a successful implementation of the policy; once the rest of the country was not put on a hold until the North catches up. In other words, more resources needed to be applied so as to achieve the desired goals. However, the story is to the contrary as the required resources are comparatively lacking in that part of the country. In a follow-up interview, one participant expressed his views eloquently as follows:

If you are looking at the situation in the time of colonial rule and now, take infrastructure for instance, the schools down south have more than they need and yet here in the North, we are still struggling. And because most of the parents down south are educated, they understand what education really means unlike

here that is dominated by illiterates and very ignorant about education. So that difference is still wide, not even close (SHUE 25, 25.09.2016).

The Ghana education Service is straddled with many issues in respect of equity in the distribution of resources. This problem has lingered on since the introduction of education in the Northern Territories (NT) by the colonialists. Although the whole of the Ghana Education Service (GES) faces infrastructural deficits, the case of northern Ghana could be said to be more acute. A retired educationist shared his frustration with me about how their infrastructure is nothing to write home about:

Government has contributed largely to the poor results [final exam]. Number one, they don't provide them with the required infrastructure, they don't provide them with furniture, they don't provide them with teaching and learning materials, the teaching is poor, so obviously the results will be poor. So Government should wake up. Update its concern. Where there is good infrastructure in school, those schools work better and, in this case, where the infrastructure is not there, like some schools under trees how can they survive? No teacher will like to go there. So here we turn directly to government to say that you cannot even scrap it if you were providing everything needed. You cannot stop the policy because the results are poor; because you have not adequately provided them with the material so that they cannot get better results through their negligence. So government is just negligent in its responsibility (RE 16, 26.08.2016).

Some participants held the view that the North is hardly catching up with the South in the area of education because of the poverty levels of the North. Despite the fact that secondary education is largely free in in the North, there are other components of financing education that the respective families have to bare. Parents have to complement what is being provided free of charge by Government in the area of

extra classes which has become common where parents pay for extra tuition for their children. One Assistant head master revealed:

I still believe that the gap between the North and the South is still wide because they have the resources and sometimes, they organize extra classes for their students but here, when you organize extra classes because of our poor nature, our economic hardship, we have a problem. Even when you organize, just a few that would come. So the few that we educate as compared to the South would be a little bit lower than that of the South. Even down south, when you see some of the schools, they get 100% in performance [in the final exam] while here, schools hardly get that. (SHUE18, 26.08.2016)

In my bid to validate respondents concerns regarding the infrastructural deficits in some of the schools in the Northern part of the country, I came across a newspaper publication titled: “Sandema SHS cries for help; toilets, bathrooms turned hostels”. This report sort to bring to light how one secondary school was suffering because of infrastructural inadequacies:

Students of the Sandema Senior high School in the Bulsa District of the upper East Region are living in abandoned structures described by authorities as “death trap”. With a student population of 1,962 and 83 staff made up of teaching and none teaching staff, the School which offers all six courses: Home Economics, Visual Arts, General Arts, Agriculture, Science and Business lacks the needed infrastructure to propel learning.[....] “The students eat breakfast, lunch and dinner in batches and this puts pressure on time for studies,”. [...] “The classrooms have no toilets close by and this makes it very difficult for the students anytime they have to use the toilet during classes,” (Bukarson 2014)

This phenomenon is common not only in the North but largely in rural Ghana. Financing of education of all public schools in Ghana is largely borne by Government. What puts much burden on the public purse is that most of the secondary schools in the country are boarding schools. Thus, Government has to provide the infrastructural needs such as, dormitories, classrooms, dining halls and even accommodation for teachers to stay on campus in order for them to be closer to the students. However, Government is hardly able to satisfactorily cater for all these needs. Sandema SHS is located in the North-Eastern part of the country which was chosen as part of this study. According to the newspaper article, girls were housed in an uncompleted and dilapidated dormitory which was precarious and uncondusive for human habitation. As shown on Figure 7, the girls had to place their boxes, which contained their school uniforms and supplementary groceries outside because of the congestion in the dormitory. At the time of this study, I observed that the population of the school was huge as compared to the level of infrastructure in the school. This corroborates Burkason (2014) in his news article report that, students had to eat in turns because the dining hall could not accommodate all of them at a go.



Figure 7: Dormitory Congestion in Sandema SHS

Source: Bukarson, 2014

It must be stated here that Ghana being a developing country is faced with general infrastructure challenges. However, this problem is more acute in the rural areas. Thus, there are some rural areas in southern Ghana which are also plagued with the phenomenon. This notwithstanding, the North is more rural than the South and it points to the fact that there will be more infrastructure deficit there than in the south. The Northern Scholarship Scheme has made many northerners who would not have been able to afford secondary education to be in school. What this means is that the little infrastructure that is in the North will be overstretched.

There are varied views when it comes to theories of education in the less developed countries about the role and capacity of the state which is largely considered not strong enough to carry out development programmes in education (Bradshaw 1993). However, the little resources that these so called “weak states” have to fund education is sometimes not equitably distributed. This invariably hamper the

success of educational policies that are meant to alleviate the sufferings of some segments of society-especially the remote areas where they are put in more precarious situations. Baker and his colleagues pointed out that:

Without a nationwide commitment to the principles of fair school funding and the implementation of progressive finance systems, education policies that seek to improve overall achievement, while also reducing gaps between the lowest- and highest- performing students, will ultimately fail. (Baker et al. 2017: 3)

This confirms the argument of Bush & Saltarelli (2000) that the denial of educational access to some social groups has the effect of exclusion in educational participation now and in the future. The state therefore has the role of distributing educational resources equitably in order to prevent the exclusion of some people in society.

5.5 The Southern Student: A Victim of the Injustices of the Policy

Participants of this Factor expressed their misgivings of the seemingly injustices in the implementation of the policy. They considered the policy as being unfair in the sense that southern students who are admitted in northern schools were not fairly treated sometimes. One of the statements that this group of participants did agree to a larger extent was: “One negative effect of the scheme is how the fee-paying students are also asked to go home as a result of the delay in releasing the feeding grant,” with a z-score of 1.168 as shown in Table 10.

All students from the South who are schooling in northern schools had to pay full fees once they are not beneficiaries of the policy. A southern student who participated in this study and who forms part of this factor shared her concerns in this regard:

That is the major problem, anytime there is failure to pay grants of northerners, it affects we the Southerners as well which shouldn't be so because we have paid our money in full so we

ought to benefit. Schools across the country are the same and they impart the same knowledge, it depends on you the individual to make the distinction. So, I don't have a problem attending a northern school and paying full fees as a southerner. I understand, but the only problem is when feeding grants of northern schools are not paid it affects the Southern students which should not be so. (SS 2, 21.09.2016)

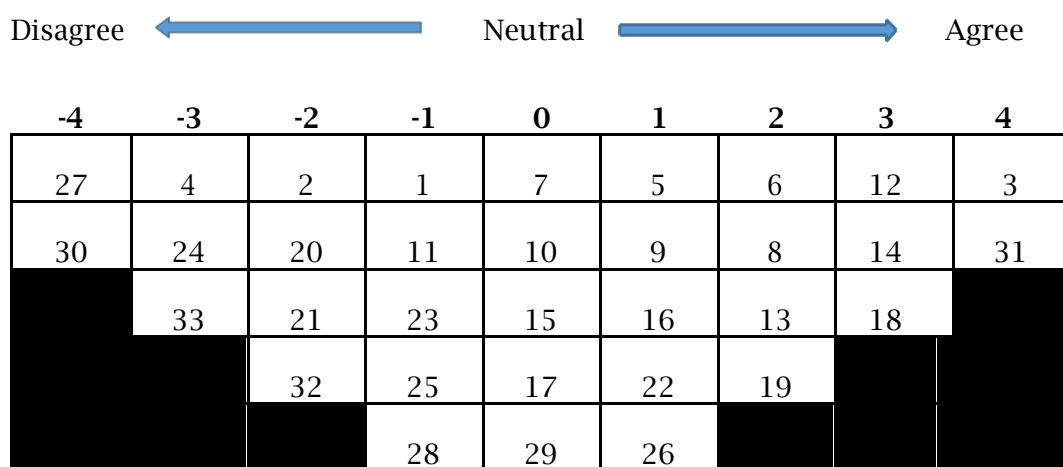


Figure 8: Factor Array of Factor Three

Source: Field work (2016)

Table 10: Factor Three Extreme Ranking Statements with High and Low Z-scores

No.	Statements	Z-score
3	Delays in the release of funds for the scheme affect contact hours and invariably academic performance of students	1.799
31	We devise some strategies to cover the contact hours lost as a result of the school closing down because of delay in receiving the feeding grant	1.790
12	One negative effect of the scheme is how the fee-paying students are also asked to go home as a result of the delay in releasing the feeding grant	1.168
18	When we try hard, we will be able to identify parents who can pay their wards' school fees in the North for the policy to be targeted at the very poor	1.093
14	Respective Governments do not have the political will to scrap the scholarship scheme.	1.059
24	Government should not continue to waste money on the scheme when the WASSCE pass rate of students in the three regions in the North is not encouraging	-1.104
33	It is high time northern parents sat-up to pay for the secondary education of their children	-1.442
4	It is better to scrap the Northern Scholarship Scheme in order to have a smooth flow of academic work	-1.444
30	Poverty is the main factor that created the gap between the North and the South but not necessarily lack of interest of parents to send their children to school	-1.494
27	The Northern elite should have rejected Dr Kwame Nkrumah's Northern Scholarship Scheme which was meant to woo them into independence with the South	-2.169

Source: Field work (2016)

When I tried to get varied views on this matter, I asked one of the Northern students who is part of this factor what her take was and she sounded sympathetic to her southern colleagues:

I do agree with them but it is because their population is often not much in the Northern schools that is why the teachers cannot retain and teach them alone. But I think something must be done

about that because they are getting affected by the Northern Scholarship problem yet do not benefit from it. Since they have paid their fees in full, they must be privileged to enjoy what they have paid for, so those times that northerners would be asked to go home for feeding grants not paid, the Southerners should be in school having their lessons because they have paid for it but they are made to go home with us and lose something they have paid for. (SS 1, 11.07.2016)

One thing that was clear with regard to this issue was that, many respondents agreed that it was unfair that southern students are made to suffer the consequences of the delays in releasing the feeding grant. They strongly felt bad about this phenomenon but however said there was nothing much they could do about it since the said students were not that many. One of the headmasters of the secondary schools had this to say:

[...] that is morally not right and it is an abuse of the minority by the majority. But there is no way you can isolate them and handle them differently. Because they are so insignificant in numbers in various schools (RE 26, 24.08.2016).

Hiding behind numbers to sweep the concerns of the Southern students (even if they are few) under the carpet should be a point to note:

what I know is that this calibre of students are just a few, but even if it was only one student it is an infringement on the person's rights...one day somebody will sue the school on this matter in court and the person will win the case. (SHUE, 10, 26.09.2016)

One of the students from the South could not hide his frustration about the poor quality of food served in the dining hall. Most often, this problem comes from the delay in the release of feeding grants as earlier on mentioned. She shared her sentiment:

Why should we be made to suffer this way when we have paid our fees? I believe our colleagues who are enrolled in the Southern schools would not face this problem because it is not government that will give their feeding grant. I guess if any of the Northern students were in our situation, they will feel the same way. This is actually not fair! We sometimes unfairly suffer silently. I do not know what the authorities can do about it. I strongly think we should let our voices be heard that we are being treated unjustly. In the first place, you say we should not enjoy the policy because we are coming from regions that are better off in the South which our parents agreed and are ready to pay our school fees. I call this a double agony (SS 3, 30.10.2016).

This was a general challenge that school administrators had to deal with. The numbers of southern students schooling in the north were very low that they could not be treated separately when there were challenges with the implementation of the NSS. This category of students were therefore “silent sufferers” of the ills of the policy.

5.6 Going Forward: A More Nationalist View

As discussed earlier, the Southern part of Ghana wanted the policy abolished or extended to all the poor in the country. It was largely held that the scholarship scheme should not be limited to only people of northern extraction and that it should be extended to people who really needed it in other parts of the country¹⁷. They felt that covering all the poor wherever they can be found is the best way to go. Figure 9 shows how strongly they agreed with statement 8(+4). As a result, they were seen to have a “*Nationalist view*” of the Northern Scholarship Scheme because they were concerned about the social wellbeing of every Ghanaian irrespective of where the person comes from. Taking a look at the statements and their Z-scores

¹⁷In the middle of this study, the Government of Ghana introduced the free Senior High School policy for the whole of Ghana which will phase out the Northern Scholarship Scheme by the year 2020.

on Table 11, the general idea that these respondents sought to espouse was that of the “welfarist”. They held views that were geared towards the welfare of the generality of the people of Ghana.

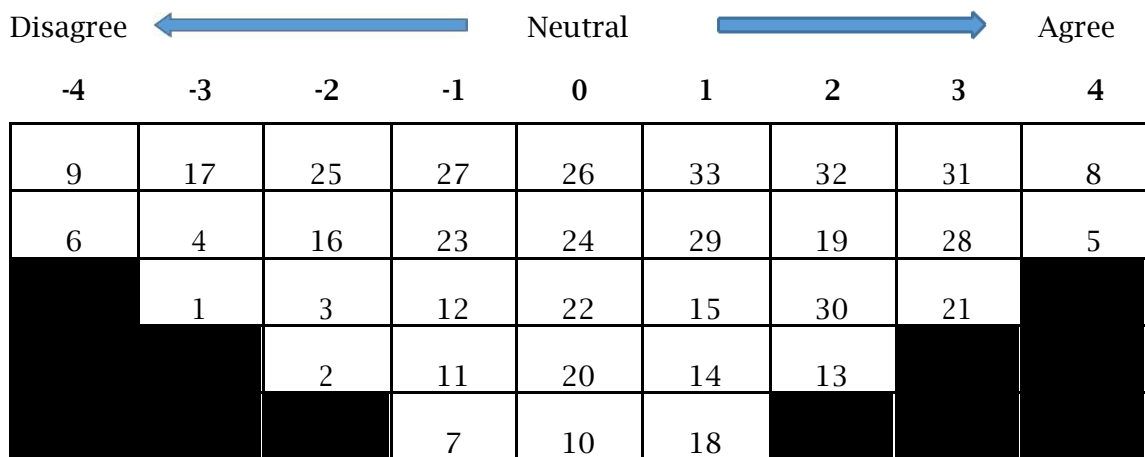


Figure 9: Factor Array of Factor Four *Source: Field work (2016)*

Table 11: Factor Four Extreme Ranking Statements with High and Low Z-scores

No	Statement	Z-score
5	The Northern Scholarship Scheme should be targeted at the poor other than everybody in the North	1.964
8	The policy should be extended to all children from very poor parents in Ghana but not only those in the North	1.742
28	The main goal of the Northern Scholarship Scheme is to bridge the educational gap between the North and the South	1.485
31	We devise some strategies to cover the contact hours lost as a result of the school closing down because of delay in receiving the feeding grant	1.433
21	The Scheme is more a political strategy than a well thought out policy to reduce inequalities in education	1.388
17	The undue delay of the feeding grants is a way to prepare people's minds in order to scrap the scheme	-0.851
4	It is better to scrap the Northern Scholarship Scheme in order to have a smooth flow of academic work.	-1.308

No	Statement	Z-score
1	The Northern Scholarship Scheme has not reduced educational inequalities between the North and the South. The educational gap between the North and the South is still big	-1.349
6	Some students are not so committed to their studies because they do not pay much as school fees.	-1.833
9	I do foresee the abolishment of the Northern Scholarship Scheme in the near future	-1.970

Source: Field work (2016)

When asked in the follow-up interview as to why he wanted the scheme extended to the rest of the country, one participant responded:

That will be fine for the whole country. After all the money doesn't come into the Northern people's pocket. If free secondary education is extended to the whole of Ghana, people from the Northern part of the country also stand to gain in this. After all, we are one Ghana. (RE 16, 26.07.2016)

One major issue that bedevilled the policy was how everybody in the North was a beneficiary irrespective of one's economic standing. In my interviews with some of the participants, they did acknowledge the fact that it was not everybody in the Northern part of the country that really deserved to benefit from the scheme. There were a good number of people of northern extraction who were capable of taking care of their children's education. However, because it was a blanket policy at the beginning, everybody benefited from it which places a heavy toll on the government purse. Some people have called for the policy to be targeted at the people who genuinely needed it. In my interactions with some of the stakeholders, they agreed in principle to the idea of targeting but only had issues with how feasible this could be. In Ghana, for that matter Africa, hardly will one be able to target the 'truly poor' in pro-poor policies like this particularly in the case where many incomes (especially in the informal sector) are not captured or documented. One of the respondents had this to say which was a true reflection of the views held by this group of stakeholders:

Ahh yes, it should be targeted at the poor. However, defining the poor becomes a problem so once you can't define who a poor person is, it will actually be difficult to target the poor and so any attempt to target the poor might end up ending the whole programme instead of targeting the poor. (SHUW 9, 30.07.2016)

There were some pro-poor policies that were being implemented at the time this study was being carried out. One of these was the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) which was advertently politicised to gain some electoral fortunes in favour of the politicians. LEAP is a social safety net instituted by the Government of Ghana with support from donor agencies which provides monthly cash grants to the extremely poor and vulnerable households in Ghana. The study participants had, therefore, expressed their reservations when it comes to the successful implementation of a policy that seeks to target the poor. When I probed further by telling him that it is possible to do targeting of the poor because there is a programme like LEAP which is doing that, he responded “well, LEAP is running but as to whether it is really targeting those it is meant for is another story”(SHUW 9, 30.07.2016). One of the beneficiary students also wished they had targeted those who could not genuinely afford to benefit from the policy but she decried the difficulty of that:

Ok, it is going to be a difficult task to find everyone's background since some would not provide you with correct data. When asked, somebody may tell you that his father is a fisherman which is not true but because he/she want to benefit from the scholarship, even though his parents could afford the fees. So the criteria is going to be the problem, how to identify genuine poor households to benefit from the Scheme. (SS 2, 21.10.2016)

Besides the Northern Scholarship Scheme, there have been some poverty reduction policies that had been put in place to address the developmental gap between the North and the South. One of these is the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA). This was an establishment geared toward rapidly developing the

Savannah ecological zone in Ghana which largely has northern Ghana has its major catchment area. SADA has education as one of its core components mainly to increase the educational fortunes of that part of the country. Some northerners held the view that, SADA did not really work well in favour of the North. This is found in the expression of one the respondents:

You and I as we talk, SADA is now over 6 years, from SADA to Northern Development what and what? They have done nothing in education. That is why they are failing to bridge the gap, and what is the way forward? If from day one that SADA was set up, they entered the schools, massive infrastructural development, dormitories, classrooms, teaching equipment, accommodation for staff, boarding schools, etc. Today, the North would have been about 70-80% in bridging the gap, but they have not done anything. If you do not educate the person how would you go into agriculture, so that is why I am saying SADA is failing, if this information would reach out to them they are failing because they have started wrongly and it looks as if they don't know why the thing was setup, they should come to me and I would teach them. The start should have immediately been on massive educational infrastructural development, get teaching and learning materials, get accommodation for teachers, you know, eer... turn most of the schools in the North into boarding schools and today we would have been fine. (RE 16, 26.09.2016)

Despite the fact that the respondents have held divergent views on the topic under investigation, there have been viewpoints that were common to all the four factors. In the next section I will discuss these convergent views.

5.7 Perspectives Common to all Factors (Consensus Statements)

In Q methodology, there is the possibility of determining perspectives of factors (groups) that are in consensus. Thus, some statements can be identifiable with all the factors and in this study, all the four factors. “A statement that is not distinguishing between any of the identified factors is called a consensus statement which is used to show similarities between factors” (van Exel & de Graaf 2005: 9-10). Table 12 depicts statements on which there is consensus across the four main perspectives that emerged from the study.

Table 12: Statements that Formed a Consensus

No	Statements	Factors			
		1	2	3	4
4	It is better to scrap the Northern Scholarship Scheme in order to have a smooth academic work	-4	-4	-3	-3
14	Respective Governments do not have the political will to scrap the scholarship scheme	1	1	3	1
15	The policy goal of bridging the inequality gap is not satisfactorily being met	2	2	0	1
25	The delay in the grant is an attempt to keep the Northerners backward	-1	0	-1	-2

Source: Field work (2016)

It can be observed that, there was undivided strong rejection by the four factors on the views expressed in statements 4 which sought to suggest that because of the perineal disruption of the school calendar due to the rampant delay in the release of the feeding grants, the Northern Scholarship Scheme should be scrapped. Many respondents were of the view that they were better off with it than without it. One of the headmasters shares his view:

Look, I think no matter how long the feeding grants delay, we better cope with the situation than say they should take away the policy from us. It is a fact that the three regions of the North are the poorest in Ghana. Sometimes, some people in the North even find it difficult to get their three square meals per day and that

tells you how precarious the situation can be. Poverty can really be an enemy of development. Some students come to school without anything to supplement the school feeding and are sometimes found wanting when the school food is not enough. (SHN 5, 21.07.2016)

The sentiments of this participant about how poverty is thwarting the development of the Northern part of Ghana cannot be overstated. A couple of studies have pointed to the fact that the North is the poorest part of Ghana which can be attributed to the ecology and other factors. According to the Ghana living standards Survey (GLSS Round 7), the three regions of the North still have very high incidences of poverty in comparative terms. As shown in Figure 10, the Northern part of Ghana have poverty incidence in all the years under review far higher than the national average. In 2016/17 for instance, while the country average of the incidence of poverty was recorded as 23.4%, Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions recorded poverty incidences of 61.1%, 54.8% and 70.9 % respectively (Ghana Statistical Service 2018).

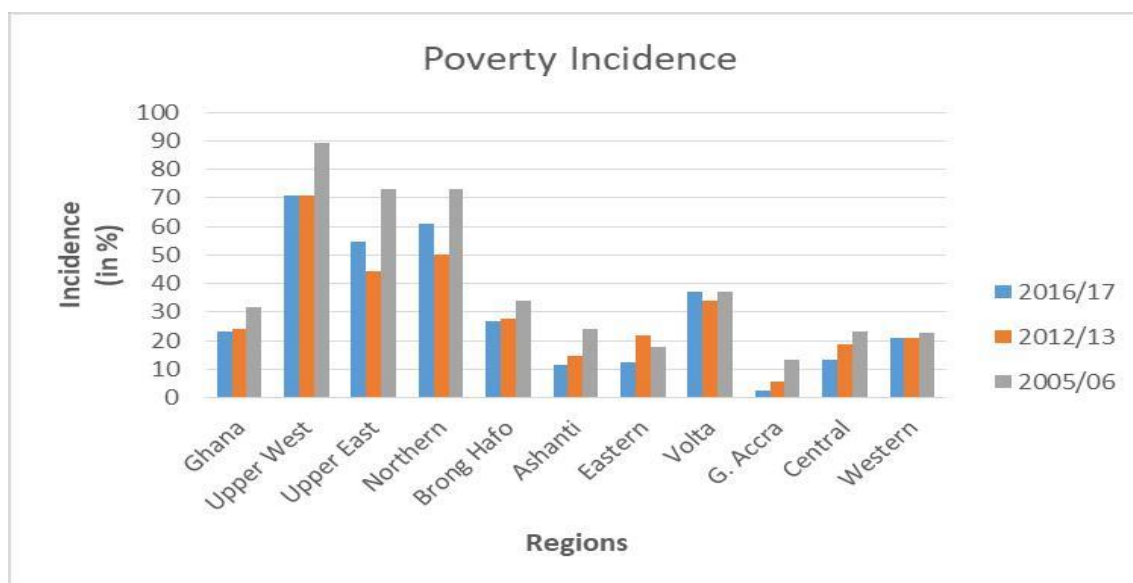


Figure 10: Incidence of Poverty by Regions in Ghana (Poverty line of GH¢1,314)

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2018)

Despite the fact that education dispels poverty, the latter makes it uneasy to progress in the former. This assertion is in line with what Ladd (2012) pointedly stated: “study after study have demonstrated that children from disadvantaged households perform less well in school on average than those from more advantaged households.” (Ladd 2012: 2). Thus, students from the North do largely have the probability to be parented by people who are poor and would not be able to meaningfully cater for their children’s education and this could have a ripple effect on them inasmuch as the spatial inequality of education in Ghana is concerned.

Another perspective that had all the factors unanimously agreeing is the statement 15 which states that “the policy goal of bridging the inequality gap is not satisfactorily being met.” Although this view has been dealt with in factor 2 above, the unanimity of it by all the 4 factors of this study needs to be highlighted. What it means is that all the groups of the study had a unilateral opinion on this statement. Brown explains that : “consensus need not be based on common understanding: it is largely symbolic, reigning as consensual only as long as no one attempts to render controversial the diverse meanings it subsumes” (Brown 1980: 26).

5.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has shown the challenges and the unintended consequences of the Northern Scholarship Scheme. Through the Q methods, the general impression has been that the effects of the policy is hardly meeting its core objective of contributing to closing the gap between the North and the South. This was made clear where the Q methodology provided a consensus among all the factors where they agreed that the gap between the North and the South is still wide. Whereas the policy is well intended and has the possibility of lifting up the fortunes of the people from northern Ghana, the implementation challenges make it uneasy to harness the full benefit of it. The chapter also demonstrated how some northerners were being excluded by virtue of their names which put them in an uneasy position to justify that they were northerners. One of the unintended effects of the policy illustrated in this chapter is the unfairness that the Southern students in northern schools face

such as having to miss teaching and learning whenever schools in the North are being closed down because of the non-payment of the feeding grants. Notwithstanding the challenges of the policy, many of the participants would want the scholarship extended to people whoever needed it in other parts of the country. In the next chapter, I present the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

Chapter Six

6. Conclusions, Reflections, and Theoretical Contributions

Regional educational inequality in Ghana partly has its roots in the past and it is proving stubborn to tackle. This thesis aimed at finding out why there is a persistent educational inequality between the North and the South of Ghana. To address this broad question, I set out to answer the following specific questions: what were the motives behind the educational segregation and the underdevelopment of education in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast? How did the colonialists manage to keep the Northerners predominantly undereducated? What is the current state of the Northern Scholarship Scheme compared to its original package? What are the challenges confronting the effective implementation of the Northern Scholarship Scheme? and What is the effect of the Northern Scholarship Scheme in contributing to bridging the educational gap between the North and the South of Ghana. In order to allow for the findings of this thesis to contribute to current sociological theoretical debates, I positioned this study in Tilly's (1999) concept of *durable inequality* and the concepts of social boundaries, the nation state, colonialism and nation-building as well as social exclusion. Within this context, I looked at how these concepts are applicable or help to better explain the inequality of education in Ghana.

6.1 Social Differentiation and Inequality in Education: A Critical Enquiry

The various discussions in the literature on social differentiation in general and inequality of education in particular are varied and wide. One of the contributions to this literature on social differentiation is Lamont & Molnár (2002) who considered boundaries as differentiation of things that may lead to general inequality, of which educational inequality is a component; where some categories of people and social groups do not get their rightful and equitable share of the delivery of education. It was argued that symbolic boundaries should be considered as "real" boundaries because of their constraining nature and why this

becomes a social issue is that sometimes as a result of these boundaries, some social groups are treated unequally.

In Chapter two, I did agree about the usefulness of boundaries; however, the concern here is how people are treated in the process of boundary-making; as boundaries could lead to a power play which may determine how much of the public good some people get or do not get. It has been pointed out that boundary work foments categorical pairs which if institutionalised creates durable inequalities (Tilly 1999). In this regard, boundary work in education plays out when the power bearers of society design the educational curriculum which to some extent does not favour everybody (especially the poor). This Chapter also shows that power play in a community creates boundaries and also promote favouritism in in-groups and antagonism towards outgroups which affects members in very concrete ways (Blokland 2017; Hogg & Abrams 1998). However, I pointed out that boundaries are fluid in that they blur-up when the motive behind them change. A typical case is where education was opened up to northern Ghana after independence, when it was then thought that the said part of the country could not be held in servitude forever. Also, it has been argued that school segregation produces some form of social closure because the ruling class excludes some people by manipulating the school resources to their town advantage (fiel 2015).

As the development of education in Ghana is rooted in historical antecedence and spatial ramifications of the development process, I discussed colonialism and the nation-state formation in chapter two in order to show how these concepts can contribute to social inequality among people. It was revealed that colonialism has produced favouritism and division among people within countries in Africa. Wong & Apple (2002: 181) understand state formation as a historical process that offers the elite the opportunity to foster a sense of identity as well forestall social differentiation in order to win the support of the governed. This thesis has shown that the Northern part of Ghana is like what Anderson describes as an “imagined community” in the sense that despite the “the inequalities and exploitation that may exist, the nation is conceived as bond together”. (Anderson 2006: 7).

Education is a tool that is used to form a national identity. More especially, many countries of the colonised world have a sense of identity in the colonial education. It has been shown that Ghana still has relics of the colonial education system where many senior high schools are boarding schools such that students are accommodated in the schools. The use of English as a national language and teaching it in the schools brings a sense of identity to the people. However, I argued alongside Churchill (1996) that the adoption of a national language and a national educational curriculum favour the elite in society.

The role of educational policy in nation building has also been discussed in this chapter. While agreeing that educational policy can be used to build a nation, I noted that if educational policy is not carefully crafted and thoroughly implemented, there would not be holistic national development. Thus, a good educational policy should aim at reducing inequalities among the people as Ball (2008) claims, some policies lack the element of equity. Fuller & Robinson (1992) posited that for a country to be able to implement its educational policy well, it largely depends on the resources available to such a country. This however is a challenge for Ghana. Being a developing country, Ghana is faced with resource-related challenges in the implementation of educational policies where varied ethnic groups expect more from the Government.

On education as the nation state project and social exclusion, I posited that social exclusion is related to Tilly's (1999) opportunity hoarding as a mechanism of durable inequality. I argued that to do opportunity hoarding is to keep something away from others and by doing that there is exclusion. Social exclusion and inclusion are related concepts that can be found in the educational system in Ghana. Though social exclusion originated from the global North, it might have spread out to the global south (Sayed 2002), through globalisation and colonialism. The concept has its meaning in poverty, deprivation and marginalisation in Ghana. The operationalisation of social exclusion in this study relates to the situation where people are pushed to the periphery where they are deprived of the social services which will alleviate their sufferings. This concept is related to the Weberian idea of

social closure where the powerful in society literary “lock-out” the down-trodden where resources are monopolised in their favour.

I argued that Inclusion and exclusion are like “Siamese twins” which are widely contested in the social sciences. Some scholars see these concepts as intricately linked such that they are two sides of the same coin (Woodward & Kohli 2007; Zerubavel 1993). This thesis shared in the thoughts of such authors that notwithstanding the fact that the North was considered as part of the Gold Coast, they were markedly neglected when it came to the provision of education and the total development of that area (exclusion here). However, when a policy was put in place to get them included, the challenges of the policy were creating some other forms inequalities therein, thereby making them to be “inside” and “outside” at the same time.

As already mentioned, the main theory that this thesis anchors on is Charles Tilly’s (1999) durable inequality. Tilly’s relational study of inequality speaks a lot to the inequality of education in this study. Thus, the regional educational inequality in Ghana is largely not coming from the differentials in skills, intelligence or other such human characteristics but the conceited institutional and social relationalities which saw the Northern part of the country at the downside of the divide. Durable inequalities refer to inequalities that are intractable and span between time and space and because of their prescriptive nature, it becomes difficult to surmount them. Thus, in order to overcome them, there is the need to dig deep to their very roots where you can decisively deal with them. It is shown here in this thesis that, these inequalities especially those in education occur in places where the share of the public goods in the form of the educational resources are consistently distributed inequitably over time.

In order to properly adapt Tilly’s theorisation of *durable inequality* and to relate it to the inequality of education in Ghana, I reviewed his causative factors of inequality which he calls mechanism of durable inequalities such as exploitation, opportunity hoarding, emulation and adaptation. Each of these concepts of Tilly were linked to education to show how inequality has been introduced as well as thrive to become

a persistent phenomenon in Ghana. In this thesis, Tilly's concept of exploitation has been related to Dorling's notion of "new elitism" which is brought about by the unequal distribution of educational resources (Dorling 2010: 36). As regards opportunity hoarding and its relatedness to education in Ghana, I pointed out that educational opportunities are rather hoarded by the elite which in Tilly's claim, it is carried out by non-elites. However, this is not to suggest that Tilly (1999) implied that opportunity hoarding is done by only the non-elite but that this study is of a different context. It was argued that, rich parents do opportunity hoarding in order to get the good schools for their children. Thus, the best is meant for the children of the elite after which it will trickle down to the children of the none-elite.

Emulation and Adaptation have their functional roles in Charles Tilly's durable inequality. Despite the fact that these concepts do not initiate categorical inequalities per se, they make the said inequality persistent. Tilly's (1999) concept of *Emulation* which he explains that people behave with the experience of the hind side is related to Bourdieu's (1984) concept of habitus where he claims that things we do are linked to our historical socialisation. In this light, I indicated that there is scripting in education in Ghana because there has been continual policy changes which are geared towards making the system better where some policies are copied and implemented in the educational sector which becomes a form of emulation.

The established practice where text scores are being used as means for progression in education has been queried in this study because there is largely no level playing ground for all school children. Some children come from well-endowed schools while their counterparts come from deprived schools. This orthodox practice of selection in education is what Tilly calls *adaptation* which makes the inequality in education persistent.

6.2 Colonised, Despised and Left Behind: Synthesising the Issues

Chapter four of this thesis covers the empirical part which answered two of the research questions. It provides answers to the following questions: What were the reasons behind the educational segregation and the underdevelopment of education

in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast? And how did the colonialists manage to keep the Northerners predominantly undereducated?

It has been pointed out that the colonialists' motivation for providing the North with less education was for them to serve as a cheap labour pool to work in the South where most of the natural resources are deposited. It was therefore prudent of them to make sure the Northerners remained less educated for them to be available to supply the much needed labour. At the time that northern Ghana became a protectorate under the Gold Coast, the colonialists realised that the Northerners were brave, hardworking and loyal which could make a good and obedient labour force for them. As a result, many northerners were sent to work in the mining sector which brought good returns to the country. I argued here that Tilly's (1999) concept of exploitation was brought to play because the returns that the Northerners got did not commensurate with the effort they put in. The thesis also highlighted an instance of opportunity hoarding in the development strategy of the colonialists because some kinds of jobs were only meant for a category of people and others were reserved for the privileged group. However, in this case the opportunity hoarding is done by the elite group.

As argued in Chapter four, the colonialists were not a "Father Christmas" who were out to dole out goodies to people, they made sure they invested in places that could give them a good value for their money. It has been established that the colonialists upon getting to know the Northern Territories, were not attracted to them because there was virtually nothing of interest to them there apart from the cheap labour. Thus, they did not find the need to invest so much in building of schools as compared to the kind of development in educational infrastructure they provided in the South. Most of the mineral resource were found in the South and that merited the needed investment so as to find the means of extracting them.

One other reason that brought about the underdevelopment of education in the North was that the colonialists became sceptical when after introducing education to the South they realised they were gradually losing the loyalty they hitherto got from the people of the South. They then decided not to give much education to the

North because they dreaded facing the same threats they got from the Southerners. In order to continue keeping the Northerners docile, they made sure education was restricted in the North.

In the beginning of the introduction of education to the North, despite the restricted supply of education by the colonialists, the people did not want to send their children to school because the Formal European-type of education was alien to them coupled with their suspicion of “strangers” which was brought about by the slave raiders. Also, the schools were few and far from home that parent feared they could lose their children to wild animals as they walk to school. As a result, whenever the chiefs were asked to provide children for school, they sent orphans other than their own children until after sometime they then started hoarding opportunities for their own children when they saw the fruits of formal education. The people were also hesitant in sending their children to school because they did not want to lose their culture to the colonial masters which I pointed out that this is related to the arguments of the reproduction theorists where they claim that the powerful in society introduce their culture to others through education.

In doing all they intended, the colonialists used a couple of tools to achieve their aim. While the missionaries were allowed to build schools in the South, they were restricted in the North. This was because the colonialists wanted to closely monitor the development of education in the North. They therefore ordered that the missionaries needed clearance from them before they were allowed to open any new schools in north of the country. However, from the independence of Ghana till now, the impact of the contribution of the missionaries to education in the North cannot be over emphasised. That means if they had been given a free chance during the colonial period in the area of education, they would have made a huge impact in the development of that sector in northern Ghana.

Education should be geared towards the total transformation of the human being. This kind of transformation should positively affect both the cognitive and physiological skills of people but sometime during the colonial era, some attempts were made to concentrate on vocational skills in the North largely to the neglect of

the intellectual training. Thus, at that time there was a variation between the syllabus in the North and that which was being taught in the South. This invariably created an imbalance in the human resource development between the two divides.

Socialisation plays a key role in forming a unified country. The colonialists were against school children traveling to the Southern part of the country even if they were on vacation. Notwithstanding the fact that the reason behind this was to protect them from the influence of the Southerners, this prevented the Northern children from getting the exposure from the other parts of the country which were comparatively more developed. Not only did they need to get the experience of life in the South, but also, this could have been good way to unify the country as both sides would have gotten used to each other through internal mobility. It is shown in this thesis that regional segregation was one mode through which the colonialists ruled the then Gold Coast. By this Saaka pointed out that the colonialists resorted to an “isolationist national park policy” for the region [north] in order to avert the “infiltration of dangerous progressive ideas from the South”(Saaka 2001a: 142). Kimble reported a statement by one of the then Governors of the Gold Coast which suggests the reason they wanted to keep the Northerners at an amiable state: “People from the NTs are much easier to deal with than their compatriots on the coast. They willingly make the most excellent road culverts and rest houses for small dashes” (Kimble 1963: 535).

6.3 Inequality of Education in Ghana: The Irony of being “inside or outside”

Chapter five which is linked to chapter four provided answers to the questions of, what is the current state of the Northern Scholarship Scheme compared to its original package? What are the challenges confronting the effective implementation of the Northern Scholarship Scheme? and What is the effect of the Northern Scholarship Scheme in contributing to bridging the educational gap between the North and the South of Ghana. At the time the colonialists were packing bag and baggage to leave the shores of Ghana, they implicitly agreed that their developmental policy disfavoured the Northern part of the country (Gbadamoshi 2016). As a result, they were ready to find a way of “compensating” the North which

they advocated for an educational policy together with the first president of the republic of Ghana. Whilst acknowledging the fact that this policy has had a modicum of benefits to the people of the North, findings of this thesis suggest that, implementation challenges were the bane of its contribution of closing the gap between the North and the South.

In Ghana, it is the duty of Government to feed and accommodate boarding students in the Senior High Schools (SHS) who are of northern extraction as part of the policy package. However, many often, the government reneges on its duty of paying for these expenses on time thereby putting the schools in a dire situation. When this happened, the students were poorly fed because the school authorities could not find money to feed them well. This created a serious problem because the children needed to be well-nourished for both their physical and mental development as most of them would have been in the stage of adolescence. For them to grasp what was being taught and to get a full concentration when in class, they needed to be well fed. Tied to this, the Southern students stood the chance of performing better in the final exam than their northern colleagues because they mostly run smooth academic sessions as compared to the erratic school seasons the North sometimes goes through. This final exam is taken all over the country and used as a sieving mechanism to qualify students into tertiary institutions. Although the policy was intended to reduce educational inequalities between the two sides, it is argued that the situation of late disbursement of funds created a “new set” of inequalities that should be brought to our attention.

The development of infrastructure in education is a necessary condition to the betterment of education in every country. Northern Ghana which is comparatively rural, is challenged with educational infrastructural deficit. Some schools in the North lack classrooms, dormitories, Information Communication Technology (ICT) laboratories and proper science laboratories. This kind of imbalance in infrastructural development hampers students from the Northern part of the country from performing favourably with their southern counterparts. It has been pointed out in this thesis that, since the annexation of the Northern Territories by

the colonialists, it is yet to get its deserving share of educational infrastructure in order to leapfrog it into a better living condition. It is therefore imperative for Government to double its efforts in order to achieve the aim of closing the gap between the two sides

When a policy is being implemented, it is appropriate for an evaluation to be done to ascertain as to how effective that policy has been. However, there has not been such an evaluation but some of the components of the policy have been scrapped. The question to ask is what informed the cancellation of those parts of the policy? I pointed out that this defies the dictates of best practice and called for evidence-based policy formulation and implementation in Ghana. It is difficult to stop the policy all together because of political reasons. There is no politician who can win elections with either only the North or the South. For that matter Governments are careful not to lose votes from the North for rightly truncating the policy. Thus, the programme has lost its initial focus thereby not achieving its original aim. I argue here that, this has put the North in the position of being “included” but not benefiting from their “inclusiveness” fully.

In some countries, one may be able to tell which part of the country somebody comes from by the name of the person. “Names go with identities and identities go with names. They are closely related and form a pair of concepts. What is meant is this: names are symbols of identities. They tell, or at least may tell, something about the bearer of the name” (Brendler 2012: 29). Because of this identity-telling concept of names, some northerners faced exclusion because they adapted southern names. The policy implementers largely identify beneficiaries by names which sometimes created boundaries that excluded some northerners from enjoying the policy. I argue in line with Bond (2006: 611) that the three sufficient indicators of national identity should be, “residence, ancestry and birth” (sometimes we could add naturalisation to these three). It is therefore exclusionary to strip somebody off his/her “belongingness” because of a name.

At the time the policy was being formulated, the framers would not have thought that a day will come when students from the South of Ghana who are in northern

schools will be treated unjustly. This study has shown that students of southern descent suffer all the ills of the Northern Scholarship Scheme when they should not. Such students make a difference because they pay full fees for their sustenance in school. How can they also lose academic contact hours (like their northern colleagues) any time northern schools are being closed down for lack of feeding grants when they have paid their fees? I countered the argument that such students are of negligible numbers and pointed out that this is social injustice. Even if it were only one, such student's rights should be upheld. As Martin Luther King Junior puts it: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" (cited in Rieder 2013: 16).

Considering all the challenges that hamper the smooth implementation of the Northern Scholarship Scheme coupled with the high poverty levels of the North, the findings suggest in this study that the policy is not significantly contributing to close the gap between the two divides. This is making the educational inequality that existed between the North and the South durable "those that last from one social interaction to the next, with special attention to those that persist over whole careers, lifetimes, and organizational histories" (Tilly 1999: 6). Poverty and educational inequality are "a chicken and egg situation" where each one of them can cause the other. Whereas the government is trying to solve the problem of regional educational inequality, the spatial dimension of poverty in Ghana is weighing down its success thereby making such inequality persistent. This makes one ponder as to whether the question asked by Bowen and his colleagues has ever been answered:

Are the claims of equity really being met today by a policy that gives no positive weight to having come from a poor family- and having somehow overcome all of the attendant barriers in order to compete with a candidate from a very different background for a place? (Bowen et al. 2005: 255).

This assertion is further supported by Miriama Awumbila¹⁸ in the global forum for development 2016, where she pointed out how the gap between the North and the

¹⁸Miriama Awumbila, Professor of Geography and member of Board of Directors of SADA

South is still wide notwithstanding a couple of interventions that were introduced to bridge it. She claimed that:

The successive governments attempted to address the regional disparities, with free education, for example. But no policy has had the desired effects. The Northern regions, which are currently populated by 30% of the 26 million Ghanaians, have remained underdeveloped. They are lagging at all levels: poverty, health, education, sanitation, unemployment, etc. (Awumbila 2017)

This explains why the regional educational inequality in Ghana is stubborn to deal with. Inasmuch as governments have tried to use policy to reduce this inequality to the barest minimum, policy implementation challenges make things difficult.

6.4 Conceptual, Theoretical and Methodological Implications of the Thesis

This thesis offers a historical, analytical and a novel methodological approach to the study of social inequalities in general and educational inequalities in particular. Charles Tilly's theory of durable inequality was conceptually analysed to study the regional inequality of education in Ghana. Arguing along the exploitation and opportunity hoarding of Tilly (1999), it has been shown that the dominant colonial administration instituted both physical and psychological boundaries which paved way for educational inequality to thrive in Ghana. This thesis went on to posit that opportunity is mostly hoarded by the elite because in most instances, the non-elites have little or no access to opportunities let alone hoard them. It shows that what the non-elite do is *opportunity prying* (Walters 2007: 18), where they aggressively look for opportunities that are largely non-existent. I therefore hypothesize that the non-elite mostly do *opportunity gleaning*, that is where the powerful in society takes almost all the opportunities which leads the less-privileged to scout for the remnants or the leftover opportunities.

Historically, the study has broadened the understanding of educational inequality by showing the role that colonialism played in bringing such inequalities in Ghana and other forms of segregation in Africa. It also adds useful information from the

Northern part of Ghana to the historical and post-colonial debates about inequality and injustice in the colonial period. Despite the fact that western education was given impetus through colonialism (Ocheni & Nwankwo 2012), the study broadens the debate and suggests that it created some spatial inequalities of education therein. Thus, it was not only the material exploitation that was perpetrated by the colonialists to the generality of the people but also an intra-national inequality among them.

Methodologically, the study was exploratory where in a mixed methods research design, in-depth interviews and Q methodology were combined. Q methodology has its roots in psychology which is not so popular in sociology and the other social sciences in general. This is somewhat a novel data collection tool which was introduced into the study of educational inequalities in particular and inequality in general. Q methodology has offered me the opportunity to clarify issues because of the multiple interaction I had with the respondents. It can therefore afford the social scientist a good option to investigate into the subjectivities of respondents quantitatively.

Also, this thesis has shown that well intended policies for social inclusion could end-up producing unintended consequences which may in turn bring about some forms of exclusion. This indicates that policy advocates, researchers and implementers need to adopt a cautious approach when advocating for inclusionary policies and watch out for their dark sides too.

6.5 Recommendation for Further Research

Social science research is a cyclical process that every social scientist is incumbent to contribute to it. In this regard and based on the findings of this study, I make the following recommendations for further research.

To begin with, the Southern part of Ghana should have also been covered so as to get its side of the story which would have gone a long way to enrich the analysis. It would have been good to observe what is happening in the boarding Senior High

Schools in the South in order to be able to do a comparison between parents paying their wards school fees in the South and a Government affirmative action in the North. I therefore recommend that, future research on educational inequality should take into consideration studying both the North and the South in order to be able to get a comprehensive view of such inequalities in Ghana.

Also, the colonial relationship with the South has to be delved into for us to get a full and complete story about the role of colonialism in the development of education in Ghana. It will be good to find out how the Southern part of the country received education at the beginning as compared to the North that doubtfully reacted to the introduction of education. I therefore recommend a comparative study in that regard.

7 Epilogue

The policy that sought to bring about educational inclusion which is now creating new forms of exclusion in the North is not necessarily a result of the lapses that are found in the educational system in Ghana alone, but also the socio-economic and political arrangement in the country. Therefore, in order to get the desired results, there is the need for a comprehensive and holistic policy orientation which has the strategy of dealing with the structural challenges of the Ghanaian society such as poverty and other social inequalities.

The thesis has shown that the affirmative action is being implemented as if the Northern part of Ghana is being done a favour by the Government. This however will not lead to a long lasting solution to the problem at hand. There is therefore the need for Ghana to adapt the rights-based policy approach whereby the inclusionary policy-directions in education will be as a result of the fundamental rights of the excluded but not just the provision of incentives. This calls for an approach to policy making and implementation that seeks to address the rights of the marginalised who also have human dignity like the rest of the citizenry but not just an incentivised policy regime. Thus, the interventions should not take a charity-dimension by considering the people as mere beneficiaries but recognise that people

have rights and duly so. This line of argument has been captured by Yusuf Sayed in his article titled: *overcoming exclusion in education*:

In developing policies which are responsive to the needs of minorities and indigenous peoples, there is a need to move away from one-size-fits-all policies and instead develop those which recognize that individuals' social positions. A failure to understand the specificity of the problems can create perverse unintended outcomes [...] it is important to develop context-specific policies that are tailored to specific needs while ensuring that differentiation does not drift into new forms of segregation. (Sayed 2009: 34).

On this note, it is recommended that governments (especially those in Africa) should move away from general-purpose policies and move towards need-based specific policies. This is more so because many policies sometimes suffer because of lack of/poor funding. It is therefore imperative for policy makers to think of how the neediest in society can benefit from policies that are meant to alleviate poverty. I therefore recommend targeting where the needy in society are identified and made beneficiaries other than having a blanket policy as some people may not need it by virtue of their economic standing.

In Ghana, some people, especially those from the South hold the view that the Northerners enjoyed free education for long from the dawn of independence. However, the Northerners themselves argue that it is not quite true because the so called free education covers only boarding fees which is just one component of the cost of education. They pointed out that there were some parents who could not afford to send their children to Senior High School because of the other cost components such as school uniforms, text books and other ancillary cost that comes with keeping children in school. As one cannot deny the fact that there are poor people in every part of Ghana, it has kept Governments thinking of extending the policy for all Senior High Schools in the country.

As a result, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) Government of Ghana led by Nana Akufo-Addo has just introduced the Free Senior High School policy (FSHS) for the whole country which will phase out the Northern Scholarship Scheme by 2020. This policy is meant to be enjoyed by the whole country as the NSS was being enjoyed by only the people of northern extraction. However, the focus of this thesis is the Northern Scholarship Scheme and how it is bridging the gap between the North and the South. Even though it is too early to appraise this new FSHS policy, it is recommended that, this new intervention should be evaluated after it has run for some time to find out whether northern Ghana is better or worse off under its implementation with regard to closing the gap between the North and the South.

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9. Appendices

Appendix A

TITLE OF STUDY: REGIONAL INEQUALITY OF EDUCATION IN GHANA: A POLICY DILEMMA IN THE CASE OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE AND THE NORTHERN SCHOLARSHIP SCHEME

Researcher: Emile Akangoa Adumpon

PhD Student, Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Humboldt-University of Berlin-Germany

Contact: emiledums@yahoo.com; 0205769890

REGION:

NAME OF SCHOOL/INSTITUTION:

STATUS OF RESPONDENT:


SORTING OF Q STATEMENTS

NO.	STATEMENT
1	The Northern scholarship scheme has not reduced educational inequalities.
2	Northerners have come of age and can do without the scholarship scheme.
3	Delays in the release of funds affect contact hours and academic performance of students.
4	It is better to scrap the northern scheme in order to have a smooth flow of academic work.
5	The scheme should be targeted at the poor other than everybody in north.
6	Some students are not so committed to their studies because they pay less as school fees
7	The policy is unfair because some northerners who can pay for their wards' education
8	The policy should be extended to all poor parents in Ghana but not only those in the north.
9	I do foresee the abolishment of the northern scholarship scheme in the near future.
10	Northerners are not taking maximum advantage of the scheme to send their children to school.
11	The northern scholarship scheme had a bigger package in the past than now.
12	It is unfortunate that fee-paying students are also sent home when funds delay.
13	Students are sometime served with substandard food when funds delay in coming

NO.	STATEMENT
14	Respective Governments do not have the political will to scrap the scholarship scheme
15	The policy goal of bridging the inequality gap is not satisfactorily being met.
16	Some students from the south disguise themselves in order to benefit from the scheme
17	The undue delay of the grants is a way to prepare people's minds in order to Scrap the scheme.
18	When we try hard, we will be able to identify parents who can sponsor
19	Northerners are used to free things such that they will find it difficult to thrive if the scheme is scrapped.
20	The Northern scholarship scheme should be reviewed.
21	The Scheme is more a political strategy than a well thought out policy
22	The Scheme is a burden to the government
23	If the scheme is scrapped, the gap between the north and south will stand to widen again
24	The scheme should be scrapped because most northerners don't do well at the WASSCE
25	The delay in the grant is an attempt to keep the northerners backward
26	Northerners should continue to benefit from scheme because a significant majority worked in the south to build Ghana
27	The northern elite should have rejected Nkrumah's scheme because it was a political ploy
28	The main goal of the scheme was to bridge the educational gap between the north and the south.
29	Food contractors benefit most from the delay of the feeding grants
30	Poverty created the gap between the north and the south but not necessarily lack of interest in school going
31	We device some strategies to cover time lost as a result of the school close down because delay in grants.
32	A good number of parents can pay because they have their children in for private basic schools
33	It is high time northern parents sat-up to pay for the secondary education of their children.

A grid to sort statements in the Q methodology:

Below is a nine point Likert scale of -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4. On the scale, -4 to -1 represent your extent of disagreement with the statements, 0 is “*neutral*” and +4 to +1 correspond with your degree of agreement with the statements. Kindly write the question numbers to correspond with the extent with which you disagree or agree with each of the statements above. The number of statements is equal to the number of boxes in the grid below. All the boxes in the grid below should be filled when finished. See an example Below:

Disagree ←  Agree

-4 -3 -1 -1 0 1 2 4 4

6	16	17	11	1	10	18	3	5
9	26	22	4	2	12	21	8	31
	23	25	7	29	13	30	28	
		27	24	32	14	33		
				20	19	15		

←----- Disagree Neutral -----→ Agree

Scale

-4	Very strongly disagree	4	Very strongly agree
-3	Strongly disagree	3	Strongly agree
-2	Disagree	2	Agree
-1	Slightly disagree	1	Slightly agree
0	Neutral		

Appendix B

TITLE OF STUDY: REGIONAL INEQUALITY OF EDUCATION IN GHANA: A POLICY DILEMMA IN THE CASE OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE AND THE NORTHERN SCHOLARSHIP SCHEME

*Researcher: Emile Akangoa Adumpong, PhD Student, Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Humboldt-University of Berlin-Germany
Contact: emiledums@yahoo.com : 0205769890*

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

REGION:

POSITION OF RESPONDENT:

- 1 What is your general opinion about the link between colonialism in Ghana and the development of the Northern Territories in general?
- 2 What was the role of the British colonialists in the development of education in Northern Ghana?
- 3 When the Colonialists came to the north of Ghana what was the nature of education they offered to the people?
- 4 What were the role of chiefs in the development of education in northern Ghana?
- 5 Slavery was everywhere in the Gold Coast, how then do people say it had toll on education in the Northern Territories at the beginning?
- 6 Besides slavery and colonisation, what other factors affected the development of education in northern Ghana?
- 7 It is often argued that the colonialists were not much interested in the development of education in the north. To what extent do you agree with this argument and what are the reasons?
- 8 In comparative terms, were the Ashantis and the colony treated better than the Northern Territories in terms of the provision of education?
- 9 How helpful was the type and extent of education provided by the colonialists in the north in a holistic human development?
- 10 In what ways did the colonialists succeed in providing less education to Northern Ghana.?

- 11 What have you to say when some people claim that the northerners themselves are partly to be blamed for the educational gap between the north and the south?
- 12 Before the advent of the colonialists what was the relationship between Northern Territories and the rest of the Gold Coast?
- 13 Before the advent of western-education, what was the type of education in the Northern Territories?
- 14 What do you have to say when some schools of thought claim western-education affected “the African ways of doing things” negatively?
- 15 What general views do you have regarding the educational development gap between the north and the south of Ghana today?
- 16 What are your views about the institution of the Northern Scholarship Scheme by the first president of Ghana?
- 17 Do you think the Scholarship Scheme has had any effect in terms of bridging the gap between the north and the south of Ghana today?
- 18 What do you think are the unintended consequences of the Northern Scholarship Scheme?
- 19 What do you think are the major implementation challenges of the Northern Scholarship Scheme?